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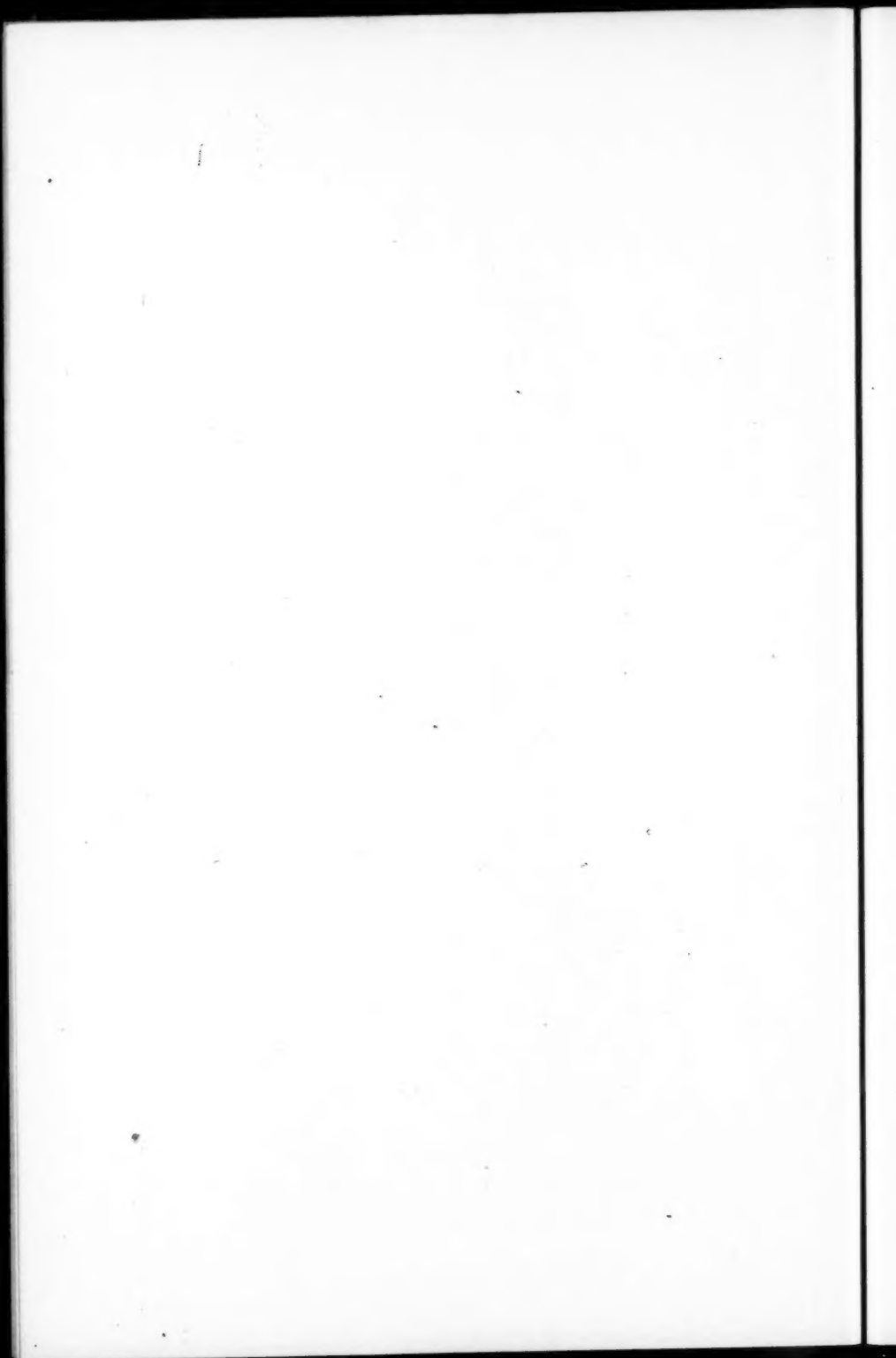
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## Joseph Clark Hoppin

1870-1925

JOSEPH CLARK HOPPIN was born in Providence, Rhode Island, May 23, 1870, and died after a long illness in Boston, Massachusetts, January 30, 1925. After his graduation from Harvard in 1893 he studied at Munich, Berlin, and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and obtained the degree of Ph.D. at Munich in 1896. In 1896-97 and again in 1897-98 he spent several months in Athens preparing for publication the great collection of vases from the Argive Heraeum, which he had helped to explore in 1894 and 1895.

He returned to America in 1898 and, after a year as instructor in Greek Archaeology at Wellesley College, was called to Bryn Mawr as Associate in Greek Art and Archaeology. In 1901 he was appointed Associate Professor of Greek Art and Archaeology and held this position until 1904, when he resigned. After this he devoted himself for the most part to research and writing, although in 1904-05 he served as Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in the American School at Athens and later, during the Great War, again taught at Bryn Mawr as Professor of Classical Archaeology in 1917-19. In 1910 and 1911 he was a member of the expedition which, under the lead of his friend, Richard Norton, conducted excavations at Cyrene.

From the very beginning of his career, Hoppin was attracted to the Greek vases, and his published work was largely devoted to his chosen field. His doctor's dissertation *Euthymides* was issued in 1896. In 1905 his chapter in the second volume of Waldstein's *Argive Heraeum* showed at once his command of the whole field of Greek ceramics and his independence and originality in discussing the many unsolved problems of this fascinating branch of archaeology. His *Euthymides and His Fellows*, published in 1916, is a revised and enlarged edition of his doctor's dissertation. In 1918 he brought out *A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases* in two volumes and followed this in 1924 by *A Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases*. Both of these books are of the utmost value to the specialist and represent a vast amount of research and careful sifting of evidence. His last work was the preparation for publication, in collaboration with Mr. Albert Gallatin, of the vases in his own collection and in that of Mr. Gallatin. Besides these larger works he contributed numerous articles to *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY* and other periodicals. He was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the Royal Geographical Society and a member of numerous archaeological societies.

Such is the bare outline of a life of fruitful activity. It gives little idea of the many-sidedness of the man himself, of his manifold interests, his generosity and great capacity for friendship. He numbered among his friends most of the classical archaeologists of his generation and many older and younger scholars as well. To all of these his death brings a sense of irreparable loss, and the courage and indomitable will with which he continued to work through years of painful illness will always be an inspiration.

G. H. C.



NOTES ON PAYMENTS MADE BY THE TREASURERS  
OF ATHENA IN 416-5 B.C.

PLATE I

DURING the spring of 415 Athens was eagerly preparing for the great Sicilian adventure. To make the fleet and its equipment as impressive and effective as possible, trierarchs vied with one another for the honor of having the most perfectly appointed trireme and the best trained crew, while the state, drawing liberally upon its treasures, provided the generals in command with every advantage that money could buy. Athens was proud of her strength, so visibly manifest in the glorious fleet soon to set sail for the conquest of Sicily.<sup>1</sup>

We are fortunate in possessing a piece of Pentelic marble<sup>2</sup> bearing silent witness to the spirit of enthusiasm with which Athens was filled on the eve of the fleet's departure. This piece of stone was once a part of the treasury accounts of the Goddess Athena, and on it were recorded the payments made by the Treasurers of the Goddess to Alcibiades and his colleagues just before they set sail. Although the inscription is fragmentary and difficult to reconstruct, it is more than ordinarily interesting because of its connection with the very dramatic Sicilian episode in Athenian history.

Chiefly on account of its connection with this episode, I thought it worth while, several years ago, to see whether the inscription could be restored, especially as previous editors, erring in their very sketchy tentative essays to fill in the gaps, had themselves left blanks that could be filled with comparative ease. When the first gaps were filled, the problem became much more difficult because of chronological uncertainties. After numerous efforts to reconcile the inscription with the generally accepted scheme of Greek chro-

<sup>1</sup> Thuc., vi, 31.

<sup>2</sup> Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 70; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 3 94, lines 35-50; *I.G. I*, 180-183, frg. e. Frg. e contains the end of the accounts of the previous year, 417-6, numbered 181 in *I.G. I*, together with parts of the three first lines of the accounts of 416-5, *I.G. I*, 182. On frg. e is found a part of the accounts of 415-4, *I.G. I*, 183. The inscription is written *στοιχηδόν*. In numbering the lines I shall follow the last edition of Dittenberger. Since the restorations made in lines 35 and 36 by previous editors are almost certain, even though the name of the secretary is unknown, it is evident that there were either 84 or 85 letters in a line. If there were 84 letters in a line we must omit the *h* of *hois* in line 36, as Dittenberger does, and then we must make a minor correction in Dittenberger's division between lines 36 and 37. The *nu* of *Baridov* becomes the first letter of line 37. Although absolute certainty is impossible, the difficulty of finding satisfactory restorations for the rest of the inscription if its lines contained 85 letters has convinced me that 84 is the correct number. It is more difficult to ascertain the margin of frg. e in no. 182, but I have concluded that the margin given by Dittenberger is correct. In passing, it should be noted that the bracket before the *iota* of *Δεχσθεις* in line 36 of Dittenberger is a misprint. For a copy of the inscription, see plate opposite p. 15 *infra*.

nology found in the works of such men as Busolt, Meyer, and Dittenberger, I became sceptical of their precision. Further study justified my scepticism, and I shall show in this paper how very weak their position has been.

As for the inscription itself, while absolute certainty is impossible, I think it extremely probable that it recorded four payments to the Sicilian generals made sometime between Thargelion 27 and Skirophorion 14, in the tenth prytany, beginning about two weeks after the mutilation of the Hermae. Furthermore, the Antimachus, whose name appears three times in the last few lines, was not a general but the assessor (*πάρεδρος*) of the expedition.

Editors of this inscription have assumed that Antimachus was a general, a colleague of Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus.<sup>1</sup> Beloch alone has recognized that neither the position of the name on the stone nor Thucydides' detailed account of the events leading up to the expedition warrants such an assumption.<sup>2</sup> Beloch, however, does not venture to suggest any theory as to the nature of Antimachus' connection with the generals.

In the treasury accounts of the Goddess there are frequent references to assessors (*πάρεδροι*).<sup>3</sup> In most cases the *πάρεδροι* are clearly deputies or assistants of the Hellenotamiai, for they are named with the latter, sometimes as a board, sometimes as individuals. At times there is no specific mention of assessors at all, although it is probable they are included in the expression *συνάρχοντες*.<sup>4</sup> When an individual Hellenotamias receipted for money to be transferred to generals away from Athens on some expedition, one assessor apparently shared responsibility with him.<sup>5</sup>

Again, when money was paid to generals before their departure, on two occasions at least, a *πάρεδρος* joined with the generals in releasing the treasurers from all responsibility for such sums.<sup>6</sup> It may be that he accompanied the expedition as a representative of the Hellenotamiai, with the duties of treasurer or accountant, or perhaps his work was confined to accounting for money spent by the generals before the fleet sailed. It is possible too that his official position was *πάρεδρος* of the strategic board, or even assistant to some individual general, as Dittenberger's index suggests.<sup>7</sup> But as the strategic *πάρεδρος* appears nowhere else in ancient records, while the assessors of the Hellenotamiai are well known from the treasury accounts of the Goddess, I am reluctant to make a distinc-

<sup>1</sup> See Hill's article in Pauly-Wissowa, suppl. I, 91, s.v. Antimachos; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* III, 2, 1277, note 1; Krause, *Attische Strategenlisten*, 11, and note.

<sup>2</sup> Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* II, 2, 265.

<sup>3</sup> See accounts for the years 418-414, 410-09, and 407-6, Dittenberger, *Syll.* 94, 109.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 109 a, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 94, lines 67-69; 109 a, line 21.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 94, lines 40, 52.

<sup>7</sup> *Syll.* 2

tion between the *πάρεδροι* of this group of inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> Still it must be admitted that the fragmentary nature of our records and the varying formulas<sup>2</sup> used from year to year make it impossible to be sure that the uncertainties and suspicions of the summer of 415 did not result in the creation of a new official, the strategic *πάρεδρος*, whose duties were to check the full powers hastily granted to the generals before the mutilation of the Hermae and the accusations against Alcibiades, and to safeguard the public interests and the public funds. On the other hand, a responsible official connected with the Hellenotamiai would have provided an equally effective guaranty that the generals would use the funds at their disposal in a proper manner.

Whatever the duties of the assessor may have been and to whatever office he may have been attached, we know from line 40 of our inscription that one of them was associated with Nicias in the year 416-5. We also know that Antimachus was somehow connected with the Sicilian expedition, and putting the two together we may begin our task of reconstruction by tentatively filling in the end of line 40 and the beginning of line 41 as follows: *παρέδροι Ἀντιμάχοι Ηερμείοι*. Before *Ἀντιμάχοι* in lines 43, 45, and 47, we also supply the words taken from line 40, *καὶ παρέδροι*.

We must now attempt to fill the blank between the name of Lamachus in line 42<sup>3</sup> and the words supplied in line 43. Our first move is to take *Νικίαι Νικεράτο Κυδαντίδει* from line 40 where the words occur before *καὶ παρέδροι* and to place it in the same position in line 43. There is now a blank of ten letters, but in it we should expect to find either Lamachus' demotic or the name of his father. As *Χσενόφανος* exactly fills the gap, I think we need not hesitate to restore the end of lines 42, 44, and 46 and the beginning of lines 43, 45, and 47 as follows: *Λαμάχοι Χσενόφανος Νικίαι Νικεράτο Κυδαντίδει καὶ παρέδροι Ἀντιμάχοι*, even though the omission of the demotic is unusual when the father's name is given.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is true that other officials had assistants called *πάρεδροι*, e.g., the archons, at least in the fourth century, and the *euthynoi* even as early as the fifth. Gilbert, *Constitutional Antiquities* (London, 1895), pp. 225, 228. These assessors were the personal assistants of individual officials, each *euthynos*, for example, having two. But the assessors we are considering are apparently attached to the expedition as a whole, not to one of the generals. To me this is a further indication that we are dealing not with personal assistants of the generals, but with an official connected with the Hellenotamiai, on detached service.

<sup>2</sup> In the accounts of 417-6 there is apparently no reference to an assessor, an omission that cannot be accounted for entirely by the fragmentary nature of the records. In the accounts of 410-09, there is only one direct mention of an assessor, although there are frequent indirect references, if we are right in thinking that the *συνάγοι* included the assessors.

<sup>3</sup> The name of Lamachus is in the same place in lines 42, 44, and 46. In lines 42 and 46 it lacks the final *iota*. Likewise *Ἀντιμάχοι* occurs in exactly the same position in lines 43, 45, and 47, so that a restoration that fits one place fits all.

<sup>4</sup> But, as can be seen from our inscription, there was no general rule about names. The name of Alcibiades occurs three times without either demotic or father's name, and Antimachus has only a demotic. It should be noted here that, if the

Since the beginnings of lines 42, 44, and 46 must have contained the dates of payment, each one of them being different, it is a much more difficult matter to find satisfactory readings for this part of the lines. We do know that the number of letters to be supplied before *στρατηγούς* is 47 and that the last word ended in *αι*, at least in line 46. Editors have assumed the *αι* to be the final letters of *ἡμέραι*, and that at first seemed probable,<sup>1</sup> but their other assumption that the lines began with the usual formula, *ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγίδος πρότερος πρυτανεύσας* *τρίτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας*, is untenable, for in its shortest possible form, as above, the formula contains 51 letters without *ἡμέραι*.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore I know of no instance where *ἡμέραι* comes after the phrase *τῆς πρυτανείας* in this or any other similar formula. We must therefore seek another formula that will fit our needs, for it seems clear from the three gaps of exactly the same length where the ordinary formula will not go that the shortened formula was not due to an accidental omission of a word.<sup>3</sup>

Assuming then that we are dealing with an intentional variation, not a stone-cutter's mistake, we may well ask what was its purpose. One thinks first of the possibility that the inscription was too long for the stone, but a glance, however hasty, will show that there was enough of the stone left for the accounts of the following year.<sup>4</sup> Since the stone itself offers no explanation, we must look for it elsewhere. The explanation I think is found in a similar and more drastic abbreviation in the accounts for the year 410-09. For all of the payments of a given prytany one heading suffices. This heading naturally precedes the record of the first payment of the prytany, and in it is given the name and number of the prytanizing tribe. For the other payments of the same prytany, it was enough to give the date of payment.<sup>5</sup> We may then consider the possibility that the last four payments were made in one prytany and that the name and number of the prytany were probably given once for all in line 39. As we shall see later, this hypothesis makes possible a partial

lines of the inscription contain 85, not 84, letters, the name *Χρονόφωτος* will be one letter too short to fill the gap. As I know of no way to fill the blank of 11 letters except by the demotic *Ἐπικεφύλατοι*, I have concluded that the number 84 is correct. See also note 2, p. 3, *supra*. *Ἐπικεφύλατοι* is the only demotic of the tribe Oeneis that gives us the right number of letters. But it is generally thought that Lamachus belonged to the deme Oe, Wilamowitz, *Arist.* II, 171 ff.; Kirchner, *Prosop. Att.* 8981.

<sup>1</sup> But in the end I was forced to reject even this assumption. See pp. 7 ff. *infra*. For another possibility, see p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> The stone shows no traces of lettering in the blank spaces of the preceding lines. That makes it impossible to begin the formula anywhere except at the beginning of a line.

<sup>3</sup> We might shorten the formula in several ways, by omitting the words *τῆς πρυτανείας*, *πρυτανεύσας*, or the name of the prytanizing tribe, or even two or more of these together, but for none of these omissions have I found a satisfactory parallel.

<sup>4</sup> There are also blank spaces at the end of lines 41, 43, and 45 long enough to have allowed the longer formula to be used.

<sup>5</sup> Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 109, lines 14 ff.

reconstruction of lines 39 and 40 and serves to explain why they are so different from those which we are discussing.

There is a further reason for thinking that all of these payments were made in one prytany. Usually money was given to the generals in charge of an expedition just before they were ready to depart. In case several payments were made for one expedition, they fell within a short space of time, as happened in 414 when funds and reinforcements were sent to Sicily. The two payments made at this time were seven days apart.<sup>1</sup>

We must now try to fill in the blanks in lines 42, 44, and 46. It is not sufficient to give merely the day of the prytany, for even in its longest possible form, *δευτέρα καὶ τριακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πρυτανείας*, it is much too short.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, without doing violence to the formula as it is found, we cannot end the formula with a word whose final letters are *αι*. The word *ἡμέραι* never follows *τῆς πρυτανείας*, nor would it be possible to end the formula with *δευτέρα*. Likewise the words *τῆς πρυτανείας* were always a part of the formula, even though it involved a repetition of the phrase.<sup>3</sup> Thus the abbreviated formula, like the longer one, cannot end with *αι*. It will be better to follow the example of the accounts for 410-9 and begin the line . . . *τει (ἡμέραι) τῆς πρυτανείας*. That leaves between twelve and thirty spaces vacant to be filled in some way. Turning now to the accounts of 407-6, also to *I.G. I*, 274, we find that a double system of dating was sometimes used, by day of prytany and day of month. This is a particularly valuable discovery for us, since it enables us to find a formula ending in *αι* for line 46. There are four possibilities, *δευτέρα*, *νομβνιαί*, *διχομενιαί*, and *ἡέτι καὶ νέαι*.

<sup>1</sup> Dittenberger, *Syll.* 294, lines 63 ff. See also *I.G. I*, suppl. pp. 159 ff., no. 179 a, for another parallel. Cf. West, *Class. Phil.* x. p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> The formula might be revised to read *ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀβρῆς πρυτανείας δευτέρᾳ καὶ εικοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ*. This would fill the gap exactly, and it could be used with a line of 85 letters if we vary the margin slightly and end lines 42, 44, and 46 with the first epsilon of *ἑπικεφαλαίον*. See note 4, p. 5, *supra*. It would also have a partial parallel in *τῇ ἀβρῇ ἡμέρᾳ* of line 69 and Dittenberger, *Syll.* 2 109, line 23. Other days are possible besides the 22nd, *viz.*, the 24th, 27th, 31st, 33rd, and 36th, so that the same formula by varying the days would serve for the gaps in three lines. We can even restore line 39 on this basis, *ἐν τῇ τῆς ἡπτοδοντῆδος ἐβρῆς πρυτανείας παρίδομεν ἡμέραι τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας*. That would give us the possibility of four payments during the ninth prytany between the 14th and 36th days, in Thargelion 415 just about the time of the mutilation of the Hermæ, when the fleet was completing its preparations for departure. Or we can transfer the payments to the tenth prytany by substituting for *ἐβρῆς* and *τετάρτῃ* respectively *δεκάτης* and *πέμπτῃ*. The last payment would then fall at the earliest on the 27th day of the prytany, about Skirophorion 20. This is probably too late, for it is likely that the fleet had left Athens a few days before. The dates for the ninth prytany are only a little better, for we should expect a final payment just before the fleet sailed in the first half of Skirophorion. The last possible date for a payment in the ninth prytany is Thargelion 24. Thus there would have been an interval of between two and three weeks between the last payment and the departure of the fleet. But the chief objection to a restoration on this basis is the lack of any exact parallel for the formula *ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀβρῆς πρυτανείας* and the omission of *τῆς πρυτανείας* after the number.

<sup>3</sup> Dittenberger, *Syll.* 2 94, lines 10 ff.; 109 b, lines 41 ff.

Before going further with our restoration, we must turn our attention to chronology. Attic chronology is extremely complicated because months and prytanies did not correspond, and it is at best difficult to determine the end of a calendar year. This much seems to be certain, that the fleet was almost ready to sail when the Hermae were mutilated, that it did sail anywhere from two to five weeks later, and that the mutilation of the Hermae occurred about the middle of the month Thargelion, or approximately forty-five days before the end of the calendar year.<sup>1</sup>

If the year of the Boule corresponds with the calendar year, the mutilation came a week or ten days before the end of the ninth prytany. In that case the fleet sailed some time between the fifth and the twenty-fifth of the tenth prytany and most, if not all, of the payments for the expedition would likewise fall within these limits. We must now try to determine the calendar date for the first day of the prytany or the prytany date for the first of Skirophorion, for, as we have seen, the four calendar dates that might end in α come at the very end, the beginning, or the middle of a month, *ἤνευ καὶ νέαι, νομηνίαι, δευτέραι, and δρχομενίαι*. As the year 416-5 was probably an ordinary year, we must assign Skirophorion 1 to the sixth or seventh day of the tenth prytany, depending upon whether the prytany contained thirty-five or thirty-six days.<sup>2</sup>

But Keil has expounded the ingenious theory that the Boule did not normally enter upon its duties with the archons and other officials on Hekatombaion 1, the first day of the Athenian year.<sup>3</sup> According to the definitive form of this theory, accepted without question by many scholars,<sup>4</sup> the Boule for the year 416-5 should have left office on Skirophorion 18; but as this date for the change of Boule does not agree with calculations made by Keil in working out his theory, he concluded that the mutilation of the Hermae so disturbed the normal procedure of the Athenian government that through a special arrangement the Boule of 415-4 entered office about the first of Skirophorion.

Since Keil's theories have met with very little criticism,<sup>5</sup> they must be considered here. At first, I tried to restore the blanks in our inscription on the supposition that Keil was right and that the tenth prytany of 416-5 began about Thargelion 13, or that the first pry-

<sup>1</sup> Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* III, 2, 1288f; Keil, *Hermes*, xxix (1894), 352; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* II, 2, 238f; Thuc., vi. 27-30.

<sup>2</sup> See Unger, Müller's *Handbuch d. klass. Altertums-Wissenschaft*, I<sup>2</sup>, 750 ff., and works there cited.

<sup>3</sup> *Hermes*, xxix, (1894) 32 ff., 321 ff. See particularly pp. 50 ff., 352 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* III, 2, XXV, 1288 f., and *passim*; Meyer, *G. d. A.* IV, pp. 314, 355, 506; Dittenberger, *Syll.* 94, note 23; 109, note 3. Cf. Wilhelm, *Anz. Ak. Wein.* 1922, nr. XV-XVII, pp. 43 ff. A. Mommsen, *Phil.* 61 (1902), pp. 214 ff., 62 (1903), pp. 348 ff., and Ferguson, *Cl. Phil.* iii, pp. 393 ff., accept Keil's conclusions with important modifications.

<sup>5</sup> Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* II, 2, 230 ff., has not seen fit to accept Keil's conclusions.



tany of the following year began about Skirophorion 1. Finding it impossible on the basis of Keil's hypothesis to work out any restorations that would satisfy the rather exacting demands of our inscription, I was forced to the tentative conclusion that Keil was in error, especially as it is possible to find satisfactory restorations if we assume that the year of the Boule coincides with the calendar year.

Keil's premises, therefore, must be reexamined to determine whether his errors are sufficient to invalidate his whole thesis or whether it will stand after alteration of certain minor details. While Keil's conclusions are very far-reaching and defined with meticulous exactness, his arguments are highly conjectural and his data meagre. Furthermore, an analysis of the second of his two articles on the divergence between the year of the Boule and that of the ordinary calendar shows that it probably never occurred to the author to see whether the more or less approximate dates established, as he thought, by the first article would in every case fit into the definite and mathematically precise system that he finally evolved.

For example, in the earlier paper Keil figured on the basis of a year of 354 (or 384) days and prytanies of 35 and 36 (or 38 and 39) days, depending upon whether an intercalary month was added to the calendar year. But in the end, he concluded that the year of the Boule consisted of exactly 360 or 390 days and the prytanies of 36 or 39 days. Consequently, Keil's tentative dates for the beginning of "official" years must be revised in the light of his matured hypothesis before they can be used to test that hypothesis. A study of Keil's chronological table and of the corresponding parts of his argument shows that Keil did not always make the necessary revisions.

From his table we learn that the Boule of 414-3 entered office *ante* Skirophorion 13, a date that he considered established by *I.G.* I, 274, Suppl. p. 35 (Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 99), where the period from Gamelion 7 to Gamelion 24 is placed within the seventh prytany.<sup>1</sup> But if Keil is right as to his theory that the prytanies of a leap year contained 39 days, Gamelion 7 would come during the sixth, not the seventh prytany, even if the year began as early as Skirophorion 10. In other words, Keil forgot to make the necessary revisions, a matter comparatively unimportant in this instance, because even the date adopted, Skirophorion 13, could not be made to fit into the completed system. Keil contents himself with the explanation that 415-4 and following years were anomalous because the mutilation of the Hermae had upset both the orderly processes of the Athenian government and the calendar by which the year of the Boule was regulated.

Keil tries to prove that the Boule of 416-5 was dismissed about 18 days before its term had expired in order that the recently elected

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff.

Boule might conduct the investigations made necessary by the mutilation of the *Hermae*. Since our literary sources are silent about this dismissal of the Boule from office, Keil uses them only to bolster up a theory first obtained from a study of *I.G.* I, 183, and then to explain why the conclusions of the first article as to the beginning of the official year 415-4 do not coincide with the perfected theory and the general rule that he had discovered.

In brief, Keil says that if the twentieth day of the second prytany, on which day a payment was made for the Panathenaic festival of 415, preceded the festival,—he tries to prove that it did,—then necessarily the first prytany of the year began at least 55 days before Hekatombaion 28, or not later than Skirophorion 3.<sup>1</sup> But to prove that the payment was made before the festival he cites the accounts of the Goddess for the year 410-09 as conclusive evidence that payments were ordinarily made before, not after, the Panathenaic celebration.<sup>2</sup> Thus everything depends upon whether this last link in Keil's long chain of reasoning will hold. But unfortunately, we can readily prove by means of an argument the validity of which Keil would be the first to admit, for he uses it effectively elsewhere in his article, that the payments for the Panathenaic festival did not precede the celebration as Keil so confidently asserts. While I am unable to prove conclusively that the first prytany of 410-09 began on Hekatombaion 1, I can show that the date given by Keil, one that he stars in his table as proved, is several days out of the way. As this is one of the key-dates on which Keil's reconstruction of the calendar after 422 depends, the corrections I shall make suffice to cast discredit upon the laboriously wrought structure of Keil's argument.

From Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 109, we learn that in 410-09 payments for the greater Panathenaic festival were made in the second prytany, although the day of payment is not given. Keil concluded from this, first, that the year of the Boule began before Hekatombaion 1, and, secondly, that the payments for the festival preceded its celebration. While it is possible that the expenses were thus provided for in advance, such a conclusion does not necessarily follow. But since other payments of *diobelia* made in the seventh and eighth prytanies can be made to coincide nearly with the Lenaea and the Greater Dionysia on the supposition that the year began in the middle of Skirophorion, Keil thought that he had proved his point. In his second paper, he dated the first day of the Bouleutic year 410-9 with great precision on Skirophorion 19.<sup>3</sup>

If Skirophorion 19 was the first day of the first prytany, the last day was Hekatombaion 25. But the treasurers of 410-09 made cer-

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 50 ff., 351 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40 ff., 349 ff.; Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38 ff., 349 ff.



tain payments for the provisions of the Knights in the first prytany, *i.e.*, on or before Hekatombaion 25, an obviously impossible thing for them to do according to Keil's reconstruction of the calendar, since they held office from one Panathenaic festival to another and therefore were not yet in office three days before Hekatombaion 28. Keil used this valid argument in another place to prove that if Prytany I, 1 fell on Hekatombaion 1, a payment on the 26th day of a prytany in the year 424-3 could not have been made in the first prytany, for, as Keil said, the Treasurers of Athena held office from Hekatombaion 28 to Hekatombaion 28.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, the earliest possible date for the first day of the second prytany in 410-09 is Hekatombaion 29. But although Hekatombaion 29 is chronologically possible, I consider it intrinsically improbable, for it is not at all likely that routine payments to the knights would have been made on Hekatombaion 28, the great day of the festival. Business of this sort would probably be postponed until after the holidays. Furthermore, one may question whether the new treasurers were in charge of the monies of Athena until after the last rite of the celebration, and even then the first day or so would probably be spent in checking up the inventory left by their predecessors. On the whole I should hardly expect a payment by the new treasurers before the first day of Metageitnion.<sup>2</sup> In that case, the payments of the second prytany for the Panathenaic festival came not earlier than Metageitnion 2, and they lose automatically their anticipatory character on which Keil frequently insisted and on which he based much of his argument.

Since the payments do not precede the festival, it seems most reasonable to suppose that payment was deferred until the final bill was presented and the account audited. This would be a more satisfactory explanation of payments in the second prytany for Panathenaic expenditures than Keil's unnecessary assumption, based on a theory now disproved, that the year of the Boule began before Hekatombaion 1.

Keil further adduced as corroborative proof of his theory the prescripts of certain *psephismata* which are dated both by archon and secretary. The handful of examples cited by him come mostly, as he would have us believe, from years when according to his scheme the year of the Boule began on Hekatombaion 1. There are exceptions that he tried to explain, those from the year 421-0. But he neglected to call attention to the universal practice of dating the accounts of the Treasurers of Athena and other financial documents by archons, and moreover one of the inscriptions which he cited as of 428-7 is now known to date from the year 411-0.<sup>3</sup> Thus there is no longer even a

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Keil's discussion of the records of 424-3, *op. cit.*, p. 59, parallels this argument.

<sup>3</sup> Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 104.

coincidence, for Keil's rule works in only two out of the four years when decrees of the assembly were dated by archons.<sup>1</sup>

Turning to the accounts of loans made by the Treasurers of Athena between 426 and 422,<sup>2</sup> we find them difficult to restore because of mutilations. But Keil, by picking out isolated payments the records of which are incomplete, was able to show to his own satisfaction that the year of the Boule began during this period usually after Hekatombaion 1. To do this he offered sample restorations; but it should be noted that in no case did he attempt to apply his theory to payments where the date, the amount, and the interest are known, nor did he verify his first conclusions in the light of his completed theory.

Thus the correctness of Keil's theory can be tested easily by any one really desirous of establishing its truth. One wonders why Keil did not see fit to do this for himself. I shall begin with the first payment of the year 425-4, for the amount of the loan, the interest, and the day of payment are known. I shall use Keil's methods to show that if his thesis were correct the year 425-4 must have begun about Hekatombaion 25, not Hekatombaion 19.<sup>3</sup> Since Keil thought the interest should be reckoned up to Hekatombaion 27, we subtract 27 from 985, the number of days for which interest was reckoned, so as to ascertain the number of days (958) left in the quadrennium 426-422. As the payment was made on the third day of the fourth prytany, in the second year of the quadrennium, we add to 958 the number of days in the calendar year 426-5 (355) and the number of days in the Bouleutic year 425-4 on which no interest was paid (111)<sup>4</sup> and compare the sum (1424) with the total number of days in the quadrennium (1448). The difference (24) is the number of days of the calendar year 425-4 that had passed before the new Boule entered office. In other words the year of the Boule must have begun Hekatombaion 25.

Turning now to the fifth payment of the year 426-5, it can be shown in the same manner that Keil is in error six or eight days. Either the first prytany began Hekatombaion 21, or the payment was made about the fourteenth day of the eighth prytany, a date impossible to restore. To complete the test, turn to the loans made by the Treasurers of the Other Gods in the tenth prytany of 423-2. Interest on a number of small payments was reckoned for 17 days.<sup>5</sup> Even if we assume that the payments were made on the last day of

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff., 334 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *I. G. I.*, 273.

<sup>3</sup> For Keil's method of determining the date of Hekatombaion 1, see *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64. For the dates of the year 425-4, see pp. 332 ff. for his discussion of the sixth oration of Antiphon, likewise his chronological table.

<sup>4</sup> Keil's theory requires us to figure 36 days to a prytany. Thus the third day of the fourth prytany would be the 111th of the year.

<sup>5</sup> See Dittenberger, *Syll.* 29, lines 75-86.

the prytany, an assumption most favorable to Keil but epigraphically impossible, Prytany I, 1, 422 did not begin until Hekatombaion 11, four days after the date given by Keil. Prytany I, 1, 423, therefore, could not be assigned to Hekatombaion 1 as is required by Keil's system.

I think it is now clear that the epigraphical evidence on which Keil based his theoretical reconstruction of the calendar can be turned very effectively against him. Beloch has pointed out the weaknesses of some of Keil's arguments, but in his criticism there is very little that can be considered absolute proof.<sup>1</sup> Finality is now possible, for the very inscriptions on which Keil relied so firmly prove that Beloch's scepticism was in a large measure justified.<sup>2</sup>

Returning now to the year 416-5, one question remains to be settled. Was the old Boule dismissed about a month early so that the incoming Boule might have full charge of the investigations? Since I have found no positive evidence to show that Keil is wrong about the early entry into office of the Boule of 415-4, I must content myself with repeating that Keil has given no satisfactory proof for his contention and has cited no parallel for this extraordinary procedure. Furthermore, neither Keil's methods nor his conception of the nature of evidence, as shown in the two articles we have been considering, are such as to inspire confidence in his conclusions. The problem must be left *sub judice* until we see how the possible restorations of our inscription agree with Keil's hypothesis.

We must now try to reconstruct the inscription in such a way that four payments will fall in one prytany, the last probably about the time of the departure of the fleet in the middle of Skirophorion, *διχομενίαι*.<sup>3</sup> In this year, the day of the full moon, Skirophorion 14, fell on or near the twentieth day of the tenth prytany.<sup>4</sup>

It will first be necessary to fill in the beginning of line 40 with the names of the generals as they appear in the other lines. This will exactly fill the blank spaces, *στρατηγοῖς ἐς Σικελίαν Ἀλκιβιάδην, Λαμάρχου Χσενόφανος, Νυκταί Νικηράτο*, if we take the margin given by Dittenberger and work on the basis of a line of 84 letters.

Except for a *tau* in the 59th space and an *epsilon* in the 60th, noth-

<sup>1</sup> Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* II, 2, pp. 15, 230 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Our conclusion, *viz.*, that there is no basis for Keil's precise chronological scheme, is not altered by the discovery of an inscription which has been considered by Wilhelm proof that the year of the Boule did not correspond with that of the archons. See *Anz. Ak. Wien.*, 1922, nr. XV-XVII, pp. 43 ff. (*S. E. G.*, II, 3).

<sup>3</sup> It is possible, though not very probable, that the last payment was made about two weeks before, either at the end of Thargelion or at the beginning of Skirophorion.

<sup>4</sup> If Unger's precise system of chronology for the years from 423-2 to the end of the Peloponnesian War, *loc. cit.*, note 2, page 8 *supra*, should be at fault, we might consider 416-5 a leap year. Then the payments would have fallen probably between Thargelion 26 and Skirophorion 2, or if we assume a line of 85 letters, between Thargelion 25 and Skirophorion 1.

ing remains of line 39. We know the number of the prytany, but not the day, prytanizing tribe, or day of the month, and it would seem an almost impossible task to discover these facts. When one considers the number of tribes, the number of days in a prytany, and the number of days in a month, together with the number of ways in which the order of words can be varied, it would seem as though there were innumerable versions possible.

But when one begins to study the problem, it is soon clear that the difficulty is not in the number of readings that will satisfy all the conditions but in finding any reading at all. The requirements are very exacting. For three lines of exactly the same number of letters we must find three feasible combinations of day of month and day of prytany, and for a fourth line another combination which will have a *τε* in the proper place and in which the day of prytany will come on the right day of the month as determined by the restoration of lines 42, 44, and 46, or vice versa. For a line of 84 letters I have found only one such combination at all satisfactory.<sup>1</sup> Thus I would reconstruct line 39 as follows: ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡπιοθοντίδος δεκάτης πρυτανεύσας Θαργελιδῶνος φθίνοντος]τε[τράδι, τρίτει τῆς πρυτανείας. In the blank spaces of lines 42, 44, and 46 we must then insert the following dates: (42) τετάρτει τῆς πρυτανείας, Θαργελιδῶνος τρίτει φθίνοντος, (44) ἐνάτει τῆς πρυτανείας, Σκιροφοριῶνος τρίτει ἡσταμένο, (46) εικοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, καὶ Σκιροφοριῶνος διχομενίαι.<sup>2</sup>

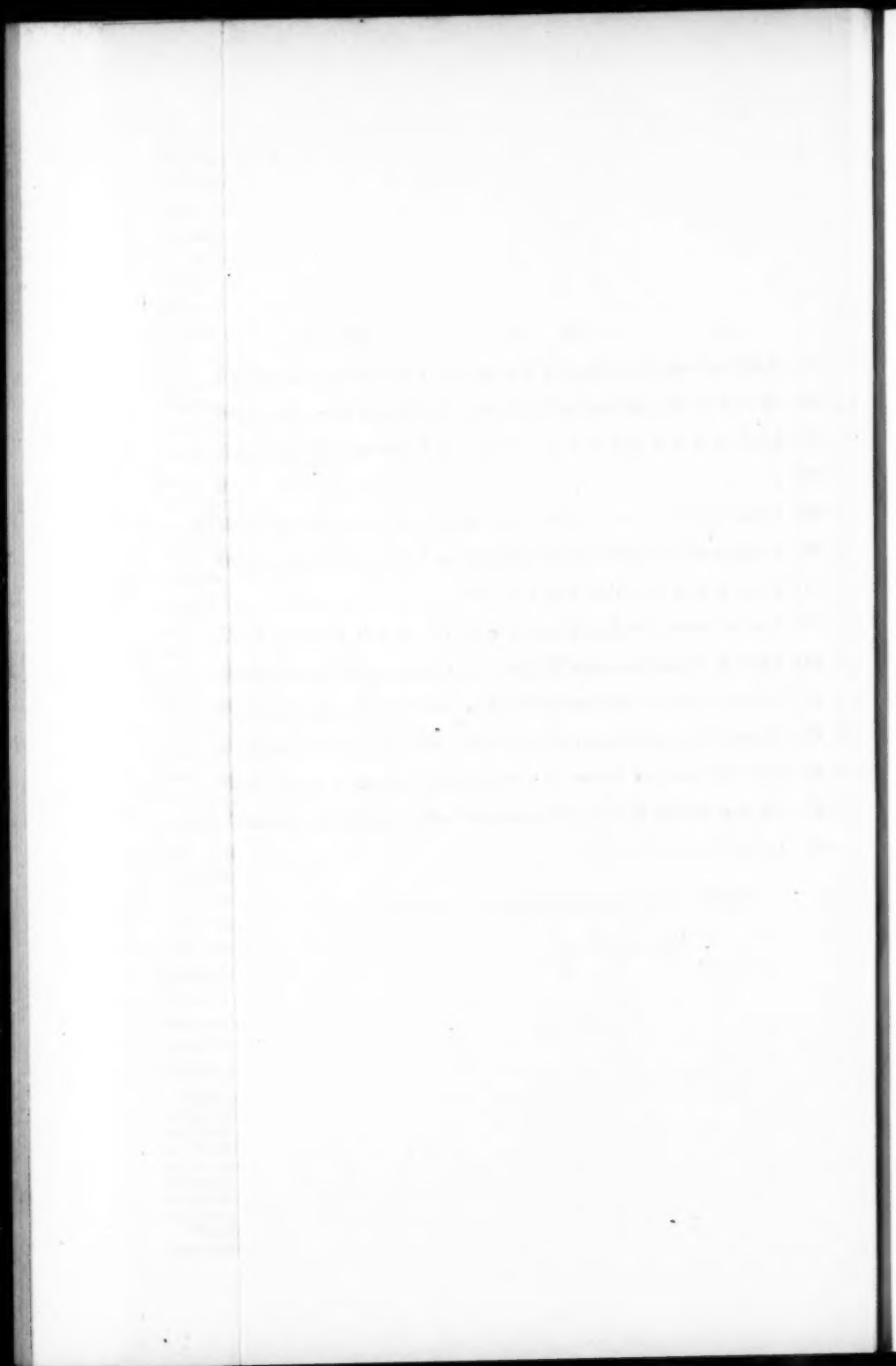
This restoration is in full accord with the probable departure of the fleet about a month after the mutilation of the Hermae. Furthermore payments made between Thargelion 27 and Skirophorion 14 would agree with the custom of making the payments almost immediately before the departure of an expedition and in close succession. But if these reconstructions are accepted, we must reject Keil's hypothesis of a change of Boule about Skirophorion 1.

To continue, in line 41 there is only an *iota* left. That is apparently the last figure of the sum of the first payment, the one we have just been discussing. As we have no idea just how much money the generals received at this time, we must leave blanks in this line. After *Ἡερμῆοι*, the demotic of Antimachus the assessor, we might put *φασεφισαμένο τῷ δέμῳ τὴν ἀδειαν*, except that there is no place for this formula in the case of the other payments. The question now arises whether we were justified in excluding it from the restorations we

<sup>1</sup> The only alternative I have discovered is not entirely satisfactory because it groups the payments within a period of five days between Thar. 28 and Skir. 2, probably a week or ten days before the fleet sailed. The alternative readings are as follows: (39) ἐπὶ τῆς . . . ἰδὸς δεκάτης πρυτανεύσας Θαργελιδῶνος φθίνοντος τρι]τε[ καὶ πέμπτει τῆς πρυτανείας, (42) ἥκτει τῆς πρυτανείας, Θαργελιδῶνος δευτέραι φθίνοντος, (44) ἡεβδόμει τῆς πρυτανείας καὶ Θαργελιδῶνος ἥκει καὶ νῆαι, (46) ἡμέραι ἐνάτει τῆς πρυτανείας, Σκιροφοριῶνος δευτέραι. I have found no combination of four readings for a line of 85 letters.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly line 44 or 42 should read as follows: *ἡμέραι οὐδὲν τῆς πρυτανείας, Σκιροφοριῶνος δευτέραι*.







have tentatively adopted. Possibly one blanket vote authorized all of the payments of the tenth prytany. It is possible too that a certain class of payments could be made without a specific vote of *adeia*, for in the accounts of the following year no record of this vote was placed on the stone in connection with the payments described as loans. The first payment of the year, not described as a loan, was authorized in the ordinary way.<sup>1</sup>

Did the payments for the Sicilian expedition in the spring of 415 take the form of loans as did those of the following year? Were they on this account subject to a different procedure? Or were some of them loans and others ordinary payments? If that was the case, then some required the vote of *adeia*, while others did not. That would make it necessary for us to find a place for the word *ἐδανείσαμεν* in one or more of our readings. If we do that, we must give up trying to use the double date, for there is no room to add *ἐδανείσαμεν* in any of the readings we have adopted. Dating by months within a prytany was not unheard of.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, if some of the payments were loans and others not, two payments, of different kinds, may have been made on one day. Then we should be able to restore the end of the blank in line 46 as follows: *τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ*.<sup>3</sup> The restoration opens the way to a range of possibilities for the other lines even more varied than those we have already considered. Possibly the final solution of our problem is to be sought in this direction, but as yet I have found no combination of readings even as good as those proposed above.

For the present, therefore, it will be more consistent to assume that the payment of line 41 was partly or entirely in Cyzicene electrum staters. The words *χρυσίῳ Κυζικηνῶς στατῆρας* will fill a part of the blanks, the rest we will leave untouched.

Above the *τε* of line 39 are traces of two letters, *οι*, which belong to a previous payment and form the top line of fragment *e*. Above is fragment *c*, with an indeterminate interval between the two fragments. In line 37, the last of fragment *c*, is a *nu* and the tops of some letters which are not yet identified: *^ . . FN*<sup>4</sup>. As the last payment of the previous year went to the fleet at Melos through the Hellenotamiai, it seems probable that this payment, the first of our year, was destined for Melos too. The only satisfactory combination of letters that I could find was *A . . ENEI*, which looks as though it might be a part of a demotic or a name in the dative. Line 37 could then be restored approximately as follows: *ν ἐγραμμάτευε παρίδσαν Ἑλληνοταμίαις . . . Παλλενεῖ(?)*.

<sup>1</sup> I believe that all of the payments of 415-4, except the first, were loans, for this reason, that the first payment, made in the third prytany, was recorded out of its proper chronological sequence, that is, before a payment of the second prytany described as a loan. The word *ἐδανείσαμεν*, therefore, introduces not merely the second payment of the year but all that follow as well.

<sup>2</sup> See Dittenberger, *Syll.* 399.

<sup>3</sup> For parallel see Dittenberger, *Syll.* 394, v. 69.

In conclusion, our inscription illustrates the intense activity with which Athens was filled during the early summer of 415. Finally it should be noted that neither of Keil's hypotheses, one of which is demonstrably false, the other unproved, can be reconciled with the inscription as it has been tentatively restored.

The inscription as restored is given on the accompanying plate.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I give here only what I consider proved. For the blanks I refer the reader to the discussion in the text where the difficulties and alternative readings are stated. When we can settle definitively one or more of the following questions, the number of letters in a line, the octaeteris that was then in use, and the character of the payments, whether loans or not, greater certainty will be possible. In line 47 I have restored Κυζικε[υδς] in place of the reading ordinarily given, Κυζικε[υδς], because the στωιχηδόν arrangement demands the extra letter.



## THE METOPES OF THE SICYONIAN TREASURY AT DELPHI

THE following brief observations on three metopes from the little Doric building at Delphi traditionally known as the Sicyonian Treasury may be of interest to admirers of these gems of archaic Greek sculpture.

### PHRIXUS ON THE RAM

Two varying descriptions of this fragment have been published by M. Homolle. In *B.C.H.* XX, 1896, p. 660, fig. 1, he wrote: "Sur le dos trace d'une figure drapée, qui y était autrefois assise dans la même pose que la femme au taureau; reste d'étoffe du corsage; cassure d'un bras qui s'appuyait au dos de l'animal." And on p. 666 he remarked that the remains of drapery belong to a woman's garment, and that consequently the rider was Helle. In *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, p. 26, fig. 14, he entitled the metope *Hellé sur le bélier*, but described the figure as follows: "Au dessus du bélier, bras g. d'une femme, dont le poignet seul reste intact avec un bracelet, unique indication certaine du membre conservé et du sexe de la personne représentée. Du bras jusqu'à l'épaule, simple silhouette; en avant un bout de l'étoffe du corsage; au dessous, plus rien ne subsiste.

"Il semble qu'on doive restituer une figure de femme debout—assise sur l'animal elle sortirait de la métope—et de face, qui a saisi le bélier par le cou et le flatte ou le pare. Le torse est très incliné vers sa g., comme celui d'Europe, pour éviter que la tête ne déborde les limites du cadre, tout en laissant au bélier une taille très forte et plus que naturelle."

An examination of the fragment in 1913 suggested still another interpretation, which, so far as I know, has never been advanced in print. The "bracelet" on the "wrist" of the figure is actually the hem at the end of a short sleeve. It is carved in relief encircling the upper arm and continuing up towards the shoulder. The sleeve of the better preserved horseman on the Argo metope is treated in exactly the same way. The "bout de l'étoffe du corsage" falling on the back of the ram is manifestly the end of a short tunic similar to that worn by the same horseman. Above it traces of the belt are plainly to be seen. The only reasonable restoration is that of a male figure, Phrixus, bestriding the ram and leaning farther forward than does Europa on the bull. Compare the accompanying photograph, which I owe to the kindness of Professor Clarence Kennedy. The

outline of the lower part of the rider's back appears more clearly in the illustrations published by Homolle. His leg seems from the traces to have been bent sharply at the knee.

The elaborate, schematic rendering of the magical fleece is also well shown in the photograph. Four rows of large tufts are preserved. Each tuft has horizontal chamferings; and alternate tufts in each row show in addition vertical striations. As Homolle has noted in his earlier and more detailed description, traces of red paint appear only on the more elaborately carved tufts. The simpler tufts were undoubtedly painted a dark color, probably black. This alternation of colors, which is paralleled on other *poros* sculptures as

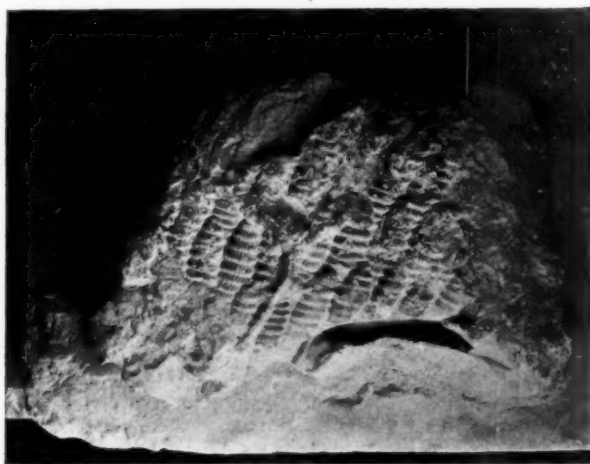


FIGURE 1. PHRIXUS ON THE RAM

well as on vase paintings, must have contributed greatly to the decorative effect of the metope.

#### THE SHIP ARGO

Among the smaller fragments from the metopes is one showing a portion of the side of a ship identical in every respect with the representation of the Argo (*Fouilles*, IV, p. 30, fig. 15a). Yet, as Homolle has observed, there is no space for it in that metope. He assumes that it belonged to a second slab depicting a different episode in the myth of the Argonauts. But another explanation of the fragment seems preferable. It is that the Argo was represented only once on the Treasury, but that it occupied two adjoining metopes. Aside from the existence of the small fragment, the chief argument in favor of this hypothesis is that only four of the participants in the adventure are shown on the extant relief, and that the leader of the expedi-

tion is not among them. Jason and other members of his crew were probably figured on the second slab representing the stern of the vessel.

#### THE CALYDONIAN BOAR

In his recently published *Delphische Studien*, p. 47, Dr. Poulsen assigns the metopes of the Treasury to two different sculptors. He finds that Europa, the Ram, the Argo and the Cattle-Raid are by one hand, while the Boar is by an artist of inferior merit. To this second artist he assigns also the "fragmentary relief with a horse." But the only fragment of a horse so far connected with the metopes is that described by Homolle, *Fouilles*, IV, p. 30, fig. 15d. And its assignment to the horseman at the right-hand end of the Argo metope seems certainly correct. An archaic relief with a horse's head is, indeed, exhibited in the Museum at Delphi on the same pedestal as the Sicyonian metopes. But it has nothing to do with them. Not only does it differ in style and technique, but its material is marble. In the circumstances it would seem that we may still subscribe to M. Homolle's more favorable estimate of the boar, and assign all the metopes to the hand of one and the same admirable artist.

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## THE COLOSSUS OF BARLETTA

THE great bronze statue in Barletta<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1) long well known, was in 1912-13 the subject of an exhaustive publication by Koch.<sup>2</sup> In his examination he found that the legs, the right arm including the elbow, and the left arm below the fold of the *paludamentum* which crosses it, were restorations. Subsequently the right leg was removed, and that side of the body is supported by masonry; at least it was in October, 1923.

In regard to the identification of the figure, Koch's conclusions may be summarized briefly.

1. The old tradition assigning to it the name Heraclius must be genuine; it is to be explained by the usurpation, on the part of that emperor, of a statue made centuries before.<sup>3</sup> 2. The statue is not earlier than 324, since diadems of the kind worn by it then first appear on official monuments; and "*Tracht und Stil*" require a date before Justinian.<sup>4</sup> 3. The man is about fifty years old. Through this fact a number of emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries are excluded from consideration, since they died too young or ascended the throne too old. There remain Magnentius, Valentinian I, Valens, and the two Theodosii.<sup>5</sup> 4. A study of the coins of these five emperors permits the identification as Valentinian I.<sup>6</sup>

The statue had previously been identified as Theodosius I and as Valens, but not so confidently nor after so thorough a study. Delbrück accepts Koch's conclusion, which I suppose may be regarded as holding the field at present. But an examination of the numismatic evidence, as presented for example in Koch's figure 9, must leave a good deal of doubt. It is probably true that Valentinian is a better possibility than any other of the five emperors named above; but the very individual profile of the statue, with the deep depression at the root of the nose, the high, short nose, the long upper lip and remarkably long chin, is certainly not reproduced in any striking fashion on the coins.<sup>7</sup> It is in fact by a process of elimination that Valentinian is reached.

There is one factor, noted but afterward altogether ignored by

<sup>1</sup> Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, II, 3, pp. 257-259, pl. LVI; Arndt-Bruckmann, *Griechische und Römische Porträts*, 895-898; Delbrück, *Bildnisse Römischer Kaiser*, XL-XLII; Wulff, *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst*, pp. 158f., pl. XI; Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 125; Toesca, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, I, pp. 245f., fig. 144; Ebersolt, *Les Arts Somptuaires de Byzance*, pp. 19f.; for older literature see Koch.

<sup>2</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, III, 2, pls. 20-21, pp. 20-27.

<sup>3</sup> P. 21. <sup>4</sup> P. 24. <sup>5</sup> P. 25f. <sup>6</sup> P. 26.

<sup>7</sup> For coins of Valentinian as close to the colossus as any see *Monnaies Romaines Impériales . . . Collections . . . Vautier et . . . Collignon*, pl. LV, 1806 and 1807.

Koch, which eliminates Valentinian himself except as a remote possibility and with him the other four candidates. This is the beard. Bernoulli thought that there was no beard, but Koch



*Antike Denkmäler*

FIGURE 1. THE COLOSSUS OF BARLETTA.

describes it correctly.<sup>1</sup> It is represented by a slightly raised and roughened surface, substantially as in Roman portraits of the middle of the third century. The beard is divided from the smooth part of the face by a perfectly sharp line, and does not cover the

<sup>1</sup> P. 23.

whole cheek; thus the mustache is left almost separate from the beard proper. According to Koch it can be seen that the mustache is long and drooping: "*ein lang herabhängender Tartarenschnurrbart.*" The arrangement of the beard is precisely that which appears on coins of Diocletian.

Between Constantine and Phocas, the following emperors are represented on the coins as bearded: Vetranion, Julian, Procopius, Gratian, Magnus Maximus (?),<sup>1</sup> Eugenius, Honorius, John, Maximus (409-411), and Leo I. Of these Julian, Gratian, and Honorius certainly died too young to be considered in connection with the statue at Barletta; as to the ages of the others I have seen no exact statement but Vetranion seems to have been quite old; historical circumstances would exclude him in any case, as well as Maximus (409-411). John, Magnus Maximus, Procopius, and Eugenius all had short and troubled periods of power, and it is highly improbable that any of them had leisure for the erection of great monuments; moreover they are all in their coin portraits distinctly unlike the colossus. It may be noted also that John, Magnus Maximus, and Eugenius ruled only in the West; whereas according to the early tradition the statue came from Constantinople, and it surely would never have survived in Italy. In fact Valentinian was also a western emperor but the objection is not so serious in his case since the eastern ruler, Valens, was notoriously subservient to his brother who was buried in Constantinople.

This process of elimination leaves Leo I as the only possibility between Constantine and Phocas. Leo was an eastern emperor who enjoyed a prosperous and fairly long reign. Portrait statues were made in court circles at the time; we hear of one representing the emperor's physician Jacob.<sup>2</sup> The age at which Leo ascended the throne, fifty-seven, is not impossible for the colossus, though fifty would seem more likely. Only a small minority of the coins show Leo bearded; four of these are reproduced in Figure 2.<sup>3</sup> The four coins, all struck at Thessalonica, represent four dies, though the differences are slight. They show a face in which the nose is rather short in comparison with the chin, somewhat as in the colossus; but there is no depression at the root of the nose. The beard is short and is pretty clearly represented as curling naturally, not as closely clipped; this is in accordance with Cedrenus,<sup>4</sup> who says that Leo was *ὕψιστος τὴν γενειάδα*. The beard of the colossus appears rather

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 3, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Unger, *Quellen d. Byz. Kunstgesch.* p. 282, no. 809.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 2a is from a photograph of a cast of a solidus in the British Museum; Mr. Sidney P. Noe very kindly secured the cast for me. Fig. 2b is from the illustration of No. 2064 in Hirsch's catalogue XXXI; this also was sent me by Mr. Noe. Figs. 2c-d are from the illustrations of Nos. 285 and 286 in Naville's catalogue, *Monnaies d'Or* . . . *Collection de Sir Arthur Evans*.

<sup>4</sup> *Historiarum Compendium* 346 C.

to be a heavy growth closely clipped, though the treatment is so conventional that one cannot be certain.

The portrait of Leo as we see it on these four coins, of good workmanship and in fairly good agreement with one another, is probably dependable. The coins which show the emperor beardless<sup>1</sup> have a great variety of inconsistent profiles, of which none resembles the colossus as much as the four specimens here reproduced. In these the resemblance is not close; yet the coins would not render impossible an identification as Leo.

There are other considerations. Leo was a soldier before he became emperor, but an obscure soldier, and as emperor he did not take part in any campaign. Hence a colossal armored statue of him must have appeared somewhat absurd. The colossus is not an ordinary statue: at whatever period it was made, it would rank as a grandiose military monument, such as could be set up only by a



FIGURE 2. COINS OF LEO I.

great warrior or by a poseur. Leo was neither; all that we know of him indicates that he was an unusually sensible and unassuming man, who would be most unlikely to make himself out a military hero. Since he was placed on the throne as a creature of the great Patrician Aspar and only gradually established his independence, it is particularly improbable that such a statue should have been set up near the beginning of his reign; yet the colossus can hardly represent a man much older than fifty-seven. For these reasons an identification as Leo is improbable, though he is not so thoroughly disqualified as Valentinian and all the others earlier than Phocas.

Phocas was the last emperor before Heraclius. On the coins he usually has a pointed beard. Otherwise he could hardly be distinguished from Heraclius so far as the coins are concerned. But no one, probably, would wish to reject the tradition if the possibilities are reduced to these two.

The field within Koch's limits being exhausted, it is in order to inquire whether his limits are justified. It will not be questioned that the figure is later than Constantine; but do "*Tracht und Stil*" really necessitate a time prior to Justinian, or to Heraclius? Pass-

<sup>1</sup> Through the courtesy of Mr. Oikonomos, I was able to examine the coins of Leo, as well as of other emperors, in the Numismatic Museum at Athens. Drawings in Sabatier, *Monnaies Byzantines*, I, pls. VI-VII.



ing for the present the question of style, it is a fact that the armor worn by the colossus, especially the solid metal cuirass, was not worn at the time of Heraclius.<sup>1</sup> But an emperor might nevertheless be represented wearing it; it was the old heroic style. The classical Roman practice of portraying emperors nude, in imitation of Greek sculptural types, is analogous. Byzantine dependence on earlier models was, of course, great at all times; and the respect of Byzantine artists for Roman usage in figure sculpture would be especially great, since in this field they could learn nothing from the orient. A figure wearing the solid metal cuirass is found among the frescoes in the Metropolis church at Kalabaka, which belongs to the fourteenth century. It is safe to say that this example is not unique in Byzantine art.

As for the diadem, it has the same form in the colossus, on the coins of Valentinian, on the coins of Heraclius, and on the coins of all the intervening emperors; it occurs also in the mosaic portrait of Justinian in S. Vitale at Ravenna. On the coins of Valentinian this kind of diadem is not however the most common one—only one of the five coins in Koch's figure 9 has it—while in the coinage of Heraclius it is the regular form. On the coins of Tiberius II and his successors, including Heraclius, there is usually a cross on the front of the diadem. The cross sometimes rests on a projecting piece such as is present on the front of the diadem worn by the statue: an examination might show that the cross was originally present and has been broken away. But the point is not important, since the cross is not always present on the coins.

The mode of wearing the diadem may be observed. In the coins of Valentinian and most of the other early emperors the diadem fits behind the ears, which are visible; while on the colossus the thick hair covers the ears, and the diadem is higher on the head. This appears to be the case on certain profile coins of Heraclius;<sup>2</sup> and the thick hair which appears at the sides of the face in coins showing the front view would indicate a similar mode.

The numismatic evidence as to the features of Heraclius<sup>3</sup> is most unsatisfactory; the coin-engravers of the time were obviously not concerned with iconographic accuracy in their designs. But it is clear that he wore a closely clipped beard with a separate mustache. In the coins which show the profile view, and in those only, he is beardless; this has led some authorities to see in them portraits of the emperor's son Heraclius Constantinus. He would doubtless resemble his father somewhat. In some of the profile views<sup>4</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 684.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. Wroth, *Imp. Byz. Coins in the British Museum*, pl. XXIII, 15.

<sup>3</sup> For a good series see Wroth, *op. cit.* pls. XXIII-XXX; *J. Int. Arch. Num.* VII, 1904, pl. VI, 2-21.

<sup>4</sup> E. g. Wroth, *op. cit.* pl. XXIII, 18.



nose is very short in proportion to the lower part of the face and the profile suggests the colossus as much as does the portrait on any coin. On other coins of Heraclius, however, quite different profiles appear.

It is impossible, then, to identify the colossus as Heraclius on numismatic evidence; but this evidence affords no objection to the identification. Of course the objection that has always prevented serious consideration of Heraclius was based on the good and comparatively classical style of the statue. It was considered out of the question that the "*mumienartig*" art of the seventh century could produce such a work.<sup>1</sup> This assumption was perhaps reasonable; but Delbrück, by his irrefragable identification of an excellent portrait of Justinian II,<sup>2</sup> has shown the necessity for a complete revision of the usual ideas about Byzantine sculpture. Justinian II lived at the beginning of the eighth century, a hundred years later than Heraclius. The course of history during this period makes it practically impossible that the level of artistic skill in the empire should have been rising. It is therefore not only possible but virtually certain that the head of the colossus was not beyond the power of sculptors contemporary with Heraclius. The armored body would present a task of much less difficulty; it would require only competent craftsmanship and the imitation of earlier statues.

Since Justinian II was a descendant of Heraclius, points of resemblance between Justinian and the colossus are worth noting. In fact they have in common two distinctive features: a very short nose and eyebrows that slope upward, for most of their length in almost straight lines, from the inner ends. Of course no close resemblance between Heraclius and Justinian would be expected.

In summary: the old tradition identifies the statue as Heraclius; it cannot well be any earlier emperor except Phocas and possibly Leo I; since Delbrück's discovery, there is no reason for disbelieving the tradition.

The dated coins of Heraclius first show a long beard in 629-630.<sup>3</sup> Hence the statue, showing him with a short beard, should be earlier. Since Heraclius was born about 575 and was hardly younger than fifty when the statue was made, 625 may be regarded as a *terminus post quem*, approximately at least. As Heraclius was engaged in the Persian war from 622 to 628, with brief intermissions, one would conclude that the statue was made in 628-629, as a memorial of the glorious conclusion of that conflict. This of course is exactly the time given by the tradition as embodied in the epigram of Grimaldi.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 3 p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> Wroth, *op. cit.* p. 189, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Röm. Mitt.* XXIX, 1914, pp. 71-89.

<sup>4</sup> Koch, p. 21.

A RESTORATION IN *I.G. I*, 37

THERE is published in *I.G. I*, Suppl., p. 140-1 a fragment of the Athenian assessment list of 421 B.C. And three items listed on this fragment are especially noteworthy because of the extremely low amount of the tribute recorded. The towns of Micyberna, Singus, and Gale are each assessed at ten drachmae.<sup>1</sup>

Δ Σίγγιοι  
Δ Μηκυβερναῖοι  
Δ Γαλαῖοι

These three assessments of ten drachmae are the lowest indicated on any extant fragment of the tribute or assessment lists, and as such they form a unique combination. The only approach to this minimum of tribute, so far as I know, is that of ten and a half drachmae recorded for Keria in *I.G. I*, 37.

In a fragment of the assessment list of 425/4, however, (*I.G. I*, 37, frg. z) there are preserved the same three figures:

Δ  
Δ  
Δ

The stone is broken away to the right of the numerals and no attempt at restoration is given in the Corpus. However, in view of the unusually low amounts recorded, and in view of the unique sequence of three of these amounts together, there need be no hesitation in restoring after the numerals in *I.G. I*, 37 frg. z the names as they are found in *I.G. I*, Suppl., p. 140-1. We may, perhaps, even go further and include in the restoration the preceding item and the two following items, which correspond (in the assessments quoted) with the preceding item and the two following items of *I.G. I*, Suppl., p. 140-1.<sup>2</sup>

*I.G. I*, 37 frg. z will then read, in part:

X [Ἡράκλειον]  
Δ [Σίγγιοι]  
Δ [Μηκυβερναῖοι]  
Δ [Γαλαῖοι]  
Τ [Τράιλος]  
Χ [Βορμίσκος]

<sup>1</sup> Cavaignac, *L'Histoire Financière d'Athènes au V<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, pp. XLV-XLVI, and Pl. I, no. 3, records the amount in each case as ten talents, but confirmation has been sent me from Athens by Mr. Phillip Davis of the American School of Classical Studies that the reading of the Corpus is correct.

<sup>2</sup> In *I.G. I*, Suppl., p. 140-1, the assessment of Ἡράκλειον is given as χ. I do not know why the assessment is given in the restored transcript as Η.

Before it is possible to show the bearing of this restoration on our knowledge of Athenian history of the fifth century, it will be necessary to determine, as accurately as possible, the location of the five towns involved.

Heracleion cannot be identified with certainty.

Trailus is probably identical with Tragilus, a town known to have been situated near the site of the later Philippi.

Bormiscus was on the Strymonic gulf at the point where Lake Bolbe empties into the sea.<sup>1</sup> Mecyberna was at the head of the Toronaic gulf, on the site of the modern Molyvopyrgus.<sup>2</sup> Singus was on the western coast of the Singitic gulf between Pilorus and Sarte.<sup>3</sup>

Gale has usually been placed on the Thracian coast, or slightly inland, north of Samothrace.<sup>4</sup> The Danish archaeologist, Dr. Kinch, was the first to identify Gale with the Galepsus of Herodotus (VII, 122) on the peninsula of Sithonia north of Torone.<sup>5</sup> And his conjecture is now confirmed by I.G. I, Suppl., p. 140-1 and I.G. I, 37 frg. z, which imply at least a geographical proximity between the three cities Singus, Mecyberna, and Gale. There was a town Galepsus, a Thasian colony, on the coast of Thrace east of the mouth of the Strymon,<sup>6</sup> and this is the only Galepsus known to Thucydides. Also, the existence of the second Galepsus rests on the evidence of Herodotus alone. With the evidence of the assessment lists now at hand, it seems safe to say that the Galepsus of Herodotus was the Gale of the tribute lists, and that the Γαλήψιοι of the tribute lists represent the people from Galepsus beyond the Strymon.<sup>7</sup>

It is impossible at once to conclude from the appearance of these names in the assessment list of 425/4 that they were in Athenian hands when the assessment was drawn up, for it is known that names of cities which never at any time paid tribute to the Athenian empire were included in that list. Such cities were Melos and the towns of the Euxine Sea.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps, then, Trailus, in the rich Pangaeian region, was included in the assessment rather in the hope that it would be brought into the empire than because it was already subservient to Athens.

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. IV, 103, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, Vol. III, p. 155. Wace, *The Site of Olynthus*, B.S.A. XXI, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, VII, 122. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, Vol. III, p. 153, places the town near the modern Sykia, on the opposite side of the Sithonian Peninsula from Torone, and Struck, *Makedonische Fahrten, Chalkidike*, p. 63 (whose view is followed by Kiepert) places it farther north near the modern Cape Βουρβοῦρι.

<sup>4</sup> See map at end of Vol. I of the Corpus.

<sup>5</sup> Kinch, *De hellenske Kolonier paa den makedoniske Halvø, Festschrift Thomsen*, p. 149 and note.

<sup>6</sup> Thuc. V, 6, 1.

<sup>7</sup> The Galepsus referred to in fragment 122 of Hecataeus, and cited in Pauly-Wissowa (s. v.) in connection with the Galepsus on Sithonia refers to the Galepsus east of the Strymon (Steph. Byz. Γαλήψις, πόλις Θράκης καὶ Παιώνων. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ).

<sup>8</sup> Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, II, 1, 330, note 3, and II, 2, 361.

In the case of Bormiscus, the probabilities are strongly that it was actually in Athenian possession. It is certain that the Athenians controlled most of the coast of the Strymonic gulf. Acanthus, Stageirus, and Argilus had not as yet revolted, and in fact did not revolt before the arrival of Brasidas. Even the fickle Perdicas of Macedon, who might have prevented the submission of Bormiscus to Athens, was at peace with Athens at the time of the assessment of 425/4.

As for Singus, Meciycerna, and Gale, there is direct evidence in the inscriptions themselves that they were under Athenian control when the assessment was made. Only in this way can the remarkably low assessment of ten drachmae each be explained. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, when Potidaea revolted from Athens, along with Bottice and Chalcidice, the Chalcidians had dismantled their coast towns and united in Olynthus to make it a single strongly fortified city.<sup>1</sup> The policy of the Chalcidians at once indicates that they had no intention of trying to defend their coast from the Athenian fleet. The few inhabitants of the coast towns, therefore, who refused to go to Olynthus (perhaps mostly Athenian sympathizers) were the only ones left to pay tribute to Athens after the synoecism at Olynthus had been effected. Singus, Meciycerna, and Gale were coast towns of Chalcidice, and the remarkably low assessments of ten drachmae each indicate the extent to which the population had been drawn away from the shore.

Furthermore, the three towns in question, situated as they were on either side of the Sithonian peninsula and on the northern shore of the Toronaic gulf, represent practically the entire coast of Chalcidice proper, which extended from Meciycerna on the west around to Assera on the northern shore of the Singitic gulf. And the appearance of these three towns in *I.G. I, 37, frg. z* proves that early in the war the entire coast of Chalcidice, along with its towns, or remains of towns, had been recovered by the Athenians from the revolting Chalcidians.

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<sup>1</sup> Thuc. I, 58.

## PEACE BETWEEN ATHENS AND BOTTICE

By a comparison of the terms of the preserved Peace of Nicias, as given in Thucydides V, 18-19, with two inscriptions in which the small Bottic towns of Tripoae and Camacae are mentioned it is possible to throw some light on the relations between Athens and Bottice during the closing years of the so-called Archidamian war.

In the text of Thucydides, Spartolus is the only Bottic city mentioned as hostile to Athens. In *I.G.* I, 260, Tripoae and Camacae are recorded as having paid tithes of Δ+Γ+Η and Δ, respectively, to Athena. The names Tripoae and Camacae occur also in *I.G.* I, Suppl., p. 142, n. 52, 53 = Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> I, 89. The first inscription is from the archonship of Aristion (421/0), and was published in the spring of the year 420. The latter inscription (Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> I, 89) records a treaty of alliance made between the Athenians and the Bottiaean, but its exact date is a matter of dispute. In it the names Tripoae and Camacae are spelled Τριποι[αί] and [Κ]εμακαί, but there is no doubt about the restoration and the identity of the towns. This inscription is also conclusive proof that Tripoae and Camacae were Bottic towns, for they are listed as two of the Bottic cities which ratified the alliance with Athens.

Busolt (*Griechische Geschichte*, III, 2, p. 1171) places the Bottic alliance in the year 422, and looks upon it as the direct result of the alliance between Athens and Perdiccas. Meyer (*Geschichte des Altertums*, IV, pp. 494 ff.) for orthographical reasons thinks that the inscription belongs after the year 420, and places it in the year 417. In the last edition of Dittenberger's *Sylloge* the inscription is dated approximately in the year 420. And Beloch has placed it in the year 418/7 (*Griechische Geschichte*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1, p. 352, note 5).<sup>1</sup>

Now, from the text of the treaty itself two things are apparent: (1) that not all the Bottic cities participated in the alliance, and (2) that Spartolus, the chief city of Bottice, was one of these cities which did not take part. Evidence for the former assumption lies in the phraseology of the document. The Athenian oath reads: ἀμυνῶ τοῖς Βοττιαίοις τοῖς ξυντιθεμένοις τὰς ὁμολογίας, and in lines 21-25 there is the provision: τὰς δὲ ξυνθήκας τὰς περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν καταθεῖναι Ἀθηναίους μὲν ἐμ πόλει ἀναγράφαντας ἐστῆλη λιθίνῃ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν πόλεων ἐγγράψαντας τῶν ξυντιθεμένων τὴν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν. Concerning the second point noted above it is clear from the stone as

<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to quote the date for the Bottic alliance as given by West, 'The Chalcidic League,' *Bull. of the Univ. of Wis.*, History Series, 1912, published 1918, p. 84, note 5. Dr. West is now fully in accord with the conclusion reached in this paper, that the peace was ratified in 422.

preserved that Spartolus did not head the list of cities which ratified the treaty. And as chief city of Bottice it was entitled to first mention, had it been party to the alliance (cf. comment in Dittenberger).

Meyer has assumed that there was no mention of tribute in the treaty. He says (*l.c.*) "Ein Theil der Landorte der Bottiaeer, aber nicht Spartolus, trat zu Athen zurück und verpflichtete sich, es im Kriege zu unterstützen; von Tribut war nicht mehr die Rede." To say that there was no longer any question of tribute is somewhat misleading. In *I.G. I*, 260 there is sufficient proof that the question of tribute, so far as concerned Tripoae and Camacae, was not only brought up for discussion but definitely settled. What is true of Tripoae and Camacae must also have been true for the other cities of the Bottic alliance.

Furthermore, the question of the tribute could not have been settled before the negotiations of the Bottic alliance. From the treaty as it is preserved it is clear that the alliance ends a period of hostility between the Athenians and the Bottiaeans. The Bottiaeans swore to have the same enemies and friends as the Athenians, and both parties swore: οὐ μνησικακήσω τῶν παροισχομένων ἕνεκα (cf. Busolt, *l.c.*). Such an oath is meaningless if we assume that reconciliation had proceeded far enough beforehand to include the settlement of the tribute question. The inscription as preserved comprises only the conclusion of the alliance, and it is by no means certain that the question of tribute did not form a considerable part of the body of the treaty. In fact, the very first word of the inscription, although the stone is so fragmentary that a restoration is impossible, seems to be concerned with some arrangement for the levying of tribute.<sup>1</sup>

The Bottiaeans had been hostile to the Athenians ever since the revolt of 432, and this treaty must be considered as the first made after the conclusion of hostilities. The fact that Tripoae and Camacae were parties to the alliance and that both of these names occur in *I.G. I*, 260 as actually paying tribute to Athens proves that the treaty was made at least before the spring of the year 421/0. The theories of Meyer and Beloch are automatically invalidated.

With the help of Thucydides it is possible also to show that the treaty with Bottice must be dated earlier than the Peace of Nicias, and consequently that the date as suggested in Dittenberger cannot stand.

We have seen that Spartolus was not included in the list of cities party to the alliance, and we learn from Thucydides V, 18, 5 that it was still hostile to Athens at the time of the Peace of Nicias. Also, it is the *only* Bottic city named as hostile to Athens at that time.

<sup>1</sup> The word is τράχες.

Assuming, then, that the Bottic alliance was made after the Peace of Nicias, we must also assume that cities party to the alliance were hostile to Athens at the time the Peace of Nicias was ratified. And yet there is no mention of these cities in the document of peace (Thuc. V, 18-19).

There is left only one alternative, to agree with Busolt that the peace with Bottice was made in the year 422 soon after the alliance with Perdiccas, and the determination of this date explains both the absence of Spartolus from the Bottic alliance and the absence of the towns of the Bottic alliance from Thucydides V, 18, 5.

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## ATREUS AND AGAMEMNON

THE discoveries by Emil Forrer<sup>1</sup> of references in the Hittite records at Boghaz-keui to Troy and to a great kingdom of Achaia and its rulers from 1350 B.C. to 1225 B.C. are of the utmost value and interest to all Homeric scholars. It appears that in the time of the Hittite king Morsilis, B.C. 1337-1312, an Achaian king, whose name is interpreted as Eteokles, held Pamphylia in fee from the Hittite empire. His father was Antaravas=Andreus. In 1225 a king of Achaia, whose name is Attarsijas, which is recognized by Forrer as Atreus, is active about the southwest coast of Asia Minor, expels the king of Caria and is soon after expelled in turn from that land. With another chief—the two are called kuirvanas=κοῦρᾱνοι—Attarsijas laid waste Cyprus in 1225.

I have taken the account given above from the *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1924, p. 343. So far as I know, it has not been noted that in the eleventh book of the *Iliad* the son of Atreus, who devastated Cyprus in 1225 B.C., received from Cinyras, king of Cyprus, a token of friendship and alliance—*ξενήριον*—which was a breastplate of splendid metal work, described, in twenty lines of the poem, *Il.* 11, 24 ff. It is highly significant that the king of the rich and powerful island sends a piece of armour and not soldiers to the son of Attarsijas. The word *ξενήριον* is also significant and may perhaps be contrasted with the word *δῶρα*, used in *Iliad* 23, 297 of a gift made by another prince who shirked service at Troy, but sent a present of propitiation. This was Echeolus of Sicyon, son of Anchises, who sent a mare as a gift to Agamemnon, in order that he might not have to follow him to windy Troy.

The Cinyradae were for many centuries priest-kings in Cyprus. They were dedicated to the service of Aphrodite and their wealth was a proverb among the Greeks. Pindar writes (*Nem.* 8, 161 ff.) of the prosperity which once in Cyprus-of-the-Sea loaded Cinyras with riches, and of the love of gold-haired Apollo for the priest Cinyras, beloved (*κίλιον*) of Aphrodite (*Pyth.* 2, 16 ff.).

A fragment of Theopompus states that the Greeks with Agamemnon came to Cyprus, got possession of the island and drove out Cinyras. Although Agamemnon in the eleventh book of the *Iliad* put on the beautiful gift of the Cyprian king, applauded by two goddesses, it may be that he cherished resentment against Cinyras for not appearing in person to fight under the walls of Troy. And political friendships and enmities have always been shifting things.

<sup>1</sup> "Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazköi", *Mitt. Or.*—Ges. Nr. 63, March 1924.



Since the father, or predecessor, of Cinyras was attacked by the father of Agamemnon, it is quite according to the nature of warrior kings that after a short respite of friendship or acquiescence, marked by the sending of Cyprian metal work to the Achaian king, who was besieging an old friend of the Cyprians, the conqueror should turn against the rich island, always a spoil of war.

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### A BYZANTINE STATUE IN MEGARA

THE statue illustrated in Figure 1 is in the court of the schoolhouse at Megara; through the courtesy of Mr. Keramopoulos I am permitted to publish it. The plinth is 0.58 m. wide, 0.35 m. deep and 0.08 m. high. The figure as preserved is 1.55 m. high; the width at the shoulders is 0.52 m. and the greatest depth *ca.* 0.35m. The head, neck, right arm from slightly below the elbow, and outer half of the right upper arm are lacking. The surface is more or less broken

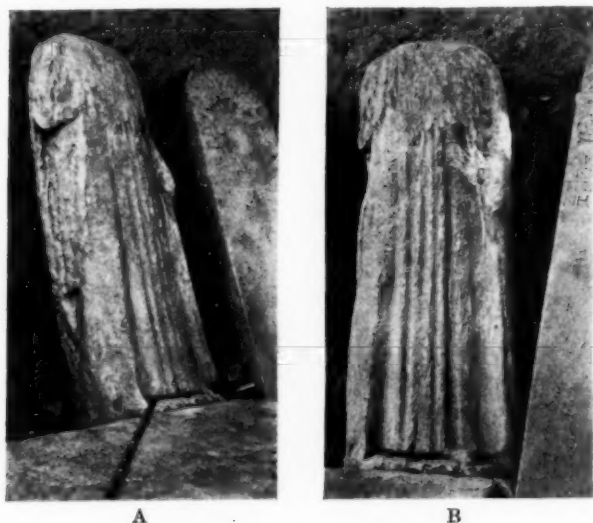


FIGURE 1. STATUE IN MEGARA

away all along the right side and is everywhere much worn, probably by the action of water. The feet, set far apart, point straight forward and are equally advanced. The outer garment is a long chlamys of heavy material, which is clasped on the right shoulder and falls in straight folds to the feet. Under it there was undoubtedly a tunic, though the statue is so much weathered on the right side that the tunic is nowhere clearly discernible. A ridge slightly below the level of the knee, visible in Figure 1A, doubtless marks the end of the tunic. The right forearm did not touch the chlamys and must have extended almost straight to the front. The left hand, swung forward slightly, is covered by the chlamys. The forms of both legs are perceptible through the garment. The vertical folds of the chlamys are few, shallow, and fairly regular. In the groove between the body

and the left arm are curved folds, almost parallel but fairly naturalistic; some of them start from the right shoulder. The back is virtually smooth, but this may be due partly to weathering.

The resemblance between this statue and the four figures at Corinth<sup>1</sup> is obvious; this is another example of early Byzantine sculpture. The singular treatment of drapery in Nos. 3 and 4 at Corinth, which I ascribed to the influence of mosaic, does not appear in the new figure, and the lower part of the figure, with the legs modelled under the garment, is very different from the corresponding parts of the two statues at Corinth: it is evident that the new statue is considerably earlier. It is probably earlier also than No. 2 at Corinth, though this is not so clear and the difference may be largely in quality. It should be noted however that the right forearm, which adheres to the body in Nos. 2 and 3 at Corinth, was entirely free from it in the new figure. Yet the general position is only slightly less stiff than that of No. 2 or No. 3.

An earlier group of statues wearing the same costume consists of two in Constantinople<sup>2</sup> and one in Ravenna.<sup>3</sup> The former two have been assigned to the last quarter of the fourth century. They show much less constraint in posture than the Megara statue, and much more classical style in drapery: the folds are deeper, giving more play of light and shade, and are far less regular and more naturalistic in their arrangement.

R. Delbrück has very courteously sent me, in response to my request, a description of the figure in Ravenna (Fig. 2), which will be fully discussed in his *Ikonographie der altchristl. Kaiser von Konstantin bis Heraklius*. From him I learn that the right hand does not hold a handkerchief, as I had thought from the drawing in Reinach, but the hilt of a sword; the object below the right hand is merely a support. The right leg is bent and the foot was set back. This statue is probably earlier than the two in Constantinople, but only slightly earlier. So far as can be judged in its present condition, it shows rather more Byzantine rigidity than they; but the sleeves and some other parts of the garments are rendered in a less conventional manner. On the other hand it shows a greater departure from classical style in drapery than appears in the *paludamentum* of the porphyry bust at Cairo,<sup>4</sup> which is probably a portrait of Maximinus

<sup>1</sup> A.J.A. XXVIII, 1924, pp. 253-265.

<sup>2</sup> Mendel, *Catalogue des Sculptures*, II, nos. 507 and 508; no. 507 also in Wulff, *Altchristliche u. Byzantinische Kunst*, p. 153, fig. 147 and in Rodenwaldt, *Griechische Porträts aus dem Ausgang der Antike* (Berlin Winkelmannsprogramm no. 76, 1919), p. 15, no. 9, fig. 5; no. 508 also in Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.* p. 15, no. 8, figs. 3-4. Cf. A.J.A. XXVIII, 1924, pp. 257f.

<sup>3</sup> Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, III, 180, 1; Conway, in *Burl. Mag.* XXII, 1912, pp. 147-153 and fig. B. Cf. A.J.A. l.c. Fig. 2, above, reproduces a photograph by L. Ricci, Ravenna. S. Reinach kindly showed me the print from which the drawing in the *Répertoire* was made.

<sup>4</sup> Dalton, *Byzantine Archaeology*, p. 126, with citations; Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, pl. 54.

(305-314). The statue is evidently a masterpiece of its kind: the mastery of the difficult material (porphyry) is complete, and the figure possesses the rigid dignity which was to be characteristic of Byzantine art without the lifeless stiffness of the statues at Corinth.



FIGURE 2. PORPHYRY STATUE IN RAVENNA

The head doubtless resembled the heads of the two statues in Constantinople, which Rodenwaldt justly calls "Werke ersten Ranges," rather than Constantinian heads or the bust of Maximinus.<sup>1</sup>

The statue at Megara, then, is later than the three figures at

<sup>1</sup> Conway suggests that the head identified by Delbrück as Justinian II (*Röm. Mitt.* XXIX, 1914, pp. 71-89) may have belonged to the statue. The identification of the head can scarcely be questioned, and the Ravenna torso is in all probability much earlier.

Constantinople and Ravenna, and earlier than the last three at Corinth. Its relation to No. 1 at Corinth is not so clear; the chlamydes are of different weight and comparison is difficult. In the arrangement of the folds, however, No. 1 is still classical, and the new statue is probably later. It was doubtless made very late in the fifth century.

Although my article on the statues in Corinth was written in June, 1923, I had no opportunity to revise it before publication; this was due to my absence from America. Minor changes and additions are not in order now, but an error or two may be corrected. The diptych of Clementinus does not contain any example of the chlamys on a complete figure. Mr. W. Stuart Thompson has kindly examined the basis of the Theodosian obelisk, and states that there are no remains of a crown on the heads of the figures supposed to represent the wife of Theodosius. The deceptive appearance is due to weathering. He felt no doubt, however, that these figures were female.



FIGURE 3. RELIEFS ON THE ARCH AT SALONIKI

Among early occurrences of the costume of our statues, the arch at Saloniki<sup>1</sup> might have been mentioned. The arch is usually thought to commemorate a campaign of Galerius; at all events it belongs to the beginning of the fourth century. The group in Figure 3 lends itself to comparison with the groups on the basis of the obelisk, and the difference in style is great. If the sculptures of the basis are compared with those of the arch, on one hand, and with the disc of Theodosius in Madrid, on the other, there surely can remain no doubt as to the period to which the basis belongs.

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<sup>1</sup> *B.C.H.* XLVI, 1920, pp. 5-15 (Hébrard), with citations.

#### NICOSTHENES: HIS ACTIVITY AND AFFILIATIONS

THE article which follows is based on a study of the work of Nicosthenes that the writer was inspired to make, as the result of the acquisition by the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence of an amphora of the shape usually believed to be his invention, in the summer of 1923 (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> This was undoubtedly one of the most important acquisitions in the field of Classical Art made by any American museum during the year; for up to that time, only one complete amphora of this type existed, as far as I know, in this country—the one in Baltimore, so ably published by David M. Robinson in this JOURNAL.<sup>2</sup> Not only is this vase in absolutely perfect preservation, but in the execution of the principal design it gives an impression of daintiness and lightness quite foreign to the heavy, clumsy, coarsely drawn boxers, which adorn the neck of the Baltimore vase. In height it stands about 30 cm., which is almost precisely the normal height.<sup>3</sup>

This vase was found at Caere in Etruria, in excavations conducted by Calabresi in the end of 1865 or the beginning of 1866, and almost immediately passed into the hands of Alessandro Castellani, the great antiquarian and collector. It was found in company with three other signed amphorae of Nicosthenes of this shape, two of which are now reported to be in the Stewart-Hodgson collection in London, while the third has disappeared.<sup>4</sup> While these amphorae were still in Castellani's possession and apparently not long after their discovery they were seen and reported on by Helbig in a communication to the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica.<sup>5</sup>

The next appearance of this vase is in the sale of the Paravey collection which was dispersed in Paris, at the Hôtel Drouot, in 1879. In the sale catalogue (written by the Baron de Witte) it bears the number 22. As is well known, by far the greater number of the best vases in this collection passed to the Louvre; and it is something of a mystery why this vase was allowed to escape; for the other signed specimens from this collection, namely the charming cyathus by Theozotus and the Eos and Memnon cylix by Duris, both found their way there. It may be, however, that the Louvre authorities

<sup>1</sup> There is a short account of this amphora in *B. R. I. Des.* XII, 1924, pp. 11-12, and fig.

<sup>2</sup> XXVI, 1922, pp. 54-58.

<sup>3</sup> An average taken of the thirty-two signed amphorae of this form whose heights are given in Dr. Hoppin's newly published *Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases* (which will be referred to as Hoppin, *B.F.* in this article) yields the figure 30.125 cm.

<sup>4</sup> These vases are Hoppin, *B.F.* 24,\* 25,\* 31\* (the Providence vase), and 79,\* under the name Nicosthenes.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1866, p. 182, nos. 1-4. This vase is no. 1 of that group. American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. XXIX (1925), No. 1.

felt that they were already supreme in the field of Nicosthenes's work, with the fifteen signed amphorae of this type from the Campana collection, already at that time in their possession.<sup>1</sup>

At the Paravey sale, or shortly afterwards, this vase was purchased by Mme. E. Darthès of Paris and, while in her possession, it was



FIGURE 1. AMPHORA BY NICOSTHENES IN PROVIDENCE

drawn and published in the *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*.<sup>2</sup> It was still believed to be in the possession of Mme. Darthès, or her descendants, at the time that Dr. Hoppin was gathering material for his *Handbook*

<sup>1</sup> Pottier's *Album des Vases Antiques du Louvre* yields the following information regarding Paravey vases in the Louvre—in each case the Paravey number comes first, with the Louvre number in parentheses: 7 (F75), 9 (F70), 10 (F166), 11 (F25), 23 (F69), 25 (F345), 32 (F118), 32 (repeated: F366), 41 (G180), 50 (G240), 55 (G436), 56 (G442), 62 (G428), 65 (G402), 75 (G471), 77 (G266), 79 (G35), 80 (G108), 81 (G271), 82 (G115), 87 (G149), and 89 (G384). There are also in all probability other unpublished examples from this collection there.

<sup>2</sup> 1890-91, pl. I, 7; pl. II, 5, a-b.



of Greek Black-Figured Vases, for he lists it as being in her collection;<sup>1</sup> but as a matter of fact it seems to have passed through other hands before it came into those of the dealer Feuadent by whom it was sold to the Rhode Island School of Design.

The main design of the vase is on the shoulder and consists of two horsemen, riding towards the right, with three male figures on either side of them, repeated on both sides of the vase. In each group of standing figures one is nude and the other two are draped in long chitons and himatia. Of the riders on side A, here illustrated, the one at the right is nude and his horse has a white mane and tail; on side B both riders wear short chitons. Between the two riders, in each case, flies a bird.

The shoulder, on these amphorae, is a favorite place for decoration, and we find in a large proportion of the vases of this shape signed by Nicosthenes, that it is ornamented with a design of figures, sometimes relatively meaningless, as here, sometimes with a scene from mythology (the favorite being Heracles and the Nemean Lion) or a scene of combat.<sup>2</sup>

Riders are common on vases signed by Nicosthenes in the black-figured technique and an examination of the riders figuring on other vases signed by him shows many parallels with the vase in Providence. The closest appears to me to be on the neck of an amphora of this shape in the Louvre, no. F101 (Hoppin, 34\*), where the horseman is shown in almost the same manner as on our vase except, of course, that owing to his position he is much larger. Other close examples may be found on the following amphorae: on the body of Louvre F100 (Hoppin, 33 \*); on the body of Louvre F109 (Hoppin, 42 \*); on the shoulder of Vatican 451 (Hoppin, 62 \*); on the shoulders of Vatican 526.2 (Hoppin, 64 \*); and on the shoulder of Vienna, Oesterreichisches Museum<sup>2</sup> 231 (Hoppin, 67 \*). Of the lost or inaccessible vases there seem to be close parallels on two of the vases found at the same time with this amphora, one of which is in the Stewart-Hodgson collection and the other of which is lost (Hoppin, 25 \* and 79 \*) and several others which have disappeared. Of vases of shapes other than the amphora there is a very close parallel in the exterior of a cylix in Berlin, no. 1805 (Hoppin, 5 \*).

Our principal interest is intended to centre in these riders, the

<sup>1</sup> The vase was acquired by Providence too late to be properly listed in Dr. Hoppin's Handbook; but the correct location of the vase is given in an Addenda slip, inserted at the beginning of the book.

<sup>2</sup> An analysis of the fifty-three known signed amphorae of Nicosthenes of this shape, for the decorations, yields the following results—design on shoulder only, Hoppin, *B.F.* 13, \* 31\* (this vase), 43, \* 44, \* 45, \* and 83.\* The following have their principal design on the shoulder: 12, \* 32\**bis*, 38, \* 39, \* 40, \* 41, \* 60, \* 62, \* 63, \* 64, \* 66, \* 75, \* 77, \* and 78.\* The following have designs on the shoulder of no greater importance than the other designs: 9, \* 18, \* 19, \* 24, \* 25, \* 32, \* 36, \* 37, \* 55, \* 56, \* 61, \* 67, \* 74, \* and 79.\* The other amphorae do not figure in this analysis, having no special shoulder design.

other figures being supplementary and unimportant; and indeed they are worth looking at. The horses are lovely, dainty, high-stepping creatures, to ride which would be a joy. The delicacy with which they are rendered recalls the work of Execias (although, of course, not by his hand) who, as will be remembered, delights in horses, all three of his signed amphorae showing them. Of course in artistic skill the work of Execias leaves these far behind, but we see almost the same method of presentation—the long, delicate legs, the high, arching neck and head with the stiff, hogged mane; the deep barrel and curved back, fitting the rider, who sits his horse high and close to the neck. Markedly different from Execias, however, is the treatment of the tail: in our vase it is rendered with one long, thick brush-stroke, as indeed is the case on all of the vases of Nicosthenes that show riders; while with Execias, so delicate and meticulous is the incised line drawing that each hair of the tails of his horses seems to stand out.

Of decorative patterns our vase offers many. The handles and rim are ornamented with ivy-leaves (Fig. 2), single on the lip, double on the handles. As a handle ornament, this appears on only one other Nicosthenes amphora, Vatican 526.3 (Hoppin, 65\*). Not only can I find it in this position on no other vase of Nicosthenes, but in execution it is far less carefully done on the Vatican amphora than on ours.<sup>1</sup> As a body pattern, it appears on a large number of vases; the amphora in Baltimore, Brussels E389, British Museum B297, Louvre F104, F108, F110, and an amphora in the Petit Palais, Paris (Hoppin, 3,\* 9,\* 19,\* 37,\* 41,\* 43\* and 55\* respectively). Of all these, the pattern is most carefully rendered on the amphora in Baltimore, with the example in the Petit Palais next. The others are careless.

On the neck is a pattern made up of double palmettes and a very rudimentary lotus, connected by a chain of tangent rings. This is not a common neck pattern and I can find a similar design on the neck of only one other vase, an amphora in the Louvre, no. F110 (Hoppin, 43\*) where, however, there is this slight difference—that the palmettes are enclosed at top and bottom by an arc, springing



FIGURE 2. DESIGN ON HANDLE AND SIGNATURE—AMPHORA BY NICOSTHENES IN PROVIDENCE

<sup>1</sup> Hoppin erroneously states that it is to be found in this position on the amphora in Baltimore (*B.F.*, p. 179, no. 3\*). In publishing the vase, Robinson states that the handles are decorated with a ray pattern. See *A.J.A.* XXVI, 1922, p. 56.

from lotus to lotus. This is not found on the Providence vase, but otherwise the pattern is essentially the same. It appears on side A of the shoulder of Louvre F109 (Hoppin, 42 \*) and on the body of Louvre F113 (Hoppin, 46 \*) where the lotuses are a little more developed. Outside of the amphorae, it seems to appear on the neck of the volute crater in the British Museum B364 (Hoppin, 20 \*) just above the principal design. It also appears on an amphora in the Petit Palais (Hoppin, 56 \*). This same pattern, but with the lotus fully developed, can be seen on the following vases; Louvre F108, F111, F112, and an amphora in the Conservatori Palace in Rome (Hoppin, 41, \* 44, \* 45, \* and 60 \*); in each case this design is on the body.

Below the shoulder, and between the two low ridges on the body is a single palmette design, of what Hoppin calls the "palmette cable" pattern. The palmettes spring from dotted circles, arranged tangent to each other, while between every pair of palmettes, and rising from the point of contact of the circles, a high tongue pattern (itself probably a very debased lotus) rears itself. This pattern is not to be found exactly as here on any other published Nicosthenes vase known to me, although a pattern very like it appears on the lower body of Vienna, Oesterreichisches Museum 231 (Hoppin, 67 \*), and although in a much more mannerized form than here it appears on the following amphorae; one in Castle Ashby, British Museum B296, Louvre F107, F111, one in the Petit Palais, one in the Conservatori Palace in Rome, and Vatican 451 (Hoppin, 13, \* 18, \* 40, \* 44, \* 56, \* 60, \* and 62 \* respectively); of these vases this pattern appears either in the same place as here, or on the lower body. In an adorsed form it is to be noted on the shoulder of side B, of Louvre F109 (Hoppin, 42 \*).

Below this palmette decoration is a zigzag pattern in red on black, also a very rare ornament, being found in this position only on the Baltimore amphora and, outside of these two vases, only once more when it forms the inside rim decoration of Louvre F113 (Hoppin, 46 \*). As is practically always the case, a band of rays is placed at the junction of the vase with the bell-shaped foot. Under one handle is the signature ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣ ΕΓΟΙΕΣΕΝ

A proper study of the activity of Nicosthenes has only just been made possible by the appearance of Dr. Hoppin's handbooks, especially that of *Black-Figured Vases*. It is the principal purpose of this article to analyze, as far as possible, the work of Nicosthenes, by means of the information brought together in these books, and his affiliation with other potters and painters of the period.

Nicosthenes is popularly supposed to have been the inventor of the peculiar metallic shape of amphora, of which this vase in Providence is an example. I think that the facts do not entirely justify this and

that it can be proved that he merely developed a form already in existence.

To establish this theory, let us analyze the provenances, as far as known, of the amphorae of this shape that are identified with Nicosthenes, or with his period. They are almost all black-figured, but one in the "mixed technique" and two red-figured examples are also known. Of the black-figured, fifty-three with the signature of Nicosthenes have been listed, thirteen of which have disappeared. In addition, there are at least four unsigned specimens.<sup>1</sup> The examples with red figures bear in each case the signature of Pamphaeus, and that in the "mixed technique" is unsigned.

We have no definite information as to the provenance of twelve of the signed and three of the unsigned black-figured amphorae. The fifteen signed amphorae in the Louvre, the fourth unsigned amphora (also in the Louvre) and the two red-figured amphorae by Pamphaeus (also in the Louvre) are stated to come "from Etruria"; while every other black-figured vase of this shape, as well as the vase in the "mixed technique," is said to have been found at Caere. It is especially interesting to note that no other definite site is connected with these amphorae.

Carrying our analysis still further, we find that the vases of this shape, both black-figured and red-figured, in the Louvre, to which the indefinite provenance "Etruria" is given, came from the Campana collection. It seemed essential, therefore, to undertake, as far as it was possible with the information already published, an analysis of the provenance of all of the Campana vases; and, curiously enough, the result obtained showed that where any definite finding-place was given (which is not as often as one could wish) an overwhelming proportion seem to have come from Caere! This, of course, does not prove that these particular vases are from that site; but, combined with the fact of Caere being the only definite finding-place mentioned for the amphorae of this shape where a provenance is given, it makes the probability very strong that they, too, should be assigned to that place.

It is possible, moreover, to deduce from what we already know where at least three of the amphorae, the provenances of which are not given, were probably found. These are (1) the vase in the Conservatori Palace in Rome (Hoppin, *B.F.* 60 \*) which undoubtedly belonged at one time to Castellani, and which, therefore, probably came from Caere, as his excavations were chiefly there; (2) an amphora in the Vatican which is associated with two others known to have come from Caere (526.2; Hoppin, 64 \*); and (3) a lost vase

<sup>1</sup> There is one unsigned amphora of this shape in Brussels, of the existence of which Dr. Hoppin was unaware when he brought out his *Handbook of Black-Figured Vases*. I saw it, and took notes on it, in the Musée du Cinquanteenaire in the summer of 1923.

known to have belonged at one time to Calabresi, a name associated only with Caere (Hoppin, 73 \*).

To recapitulate:—there are fifty-three amphorae of the so-called "Nicostrhenes shape" that bear his signature. Of these, twenty-six, or nearly one-half, were found at Caere; and of the remaining twenty-seven, eighteen, or two-thirds, show every indication of having probably come from the same site. Furthermore, as a result of the publication of Dr. Hoppin's handbooks, we can state with absolute certainty that no other site is known to have yielded these vases.

These facts, as I interpret them, lead to but one conclusion; that these amphorae were made for the Caeretan market and to satisfy a local demand. If this conclusion be accepted, it stands to reason that vases of this shape existed before the activity of Nicostrhenes began, and that we may no longer look upon him as the inventor of this form, but as the developer of a form already in existence.

It is only fair, however, to see if this theory can be supported by any other evidence, and if we can confirm it by producing any vases of this shape that may be said to antedate the activity of Nicostrhenes. If not, our conclusions will be weakened, if not absolutely destroyed; if so, the probabilities for this idea being correct are considerably strengthened.

Strangely enough, with all the material existing in the museums of Europe, it is to an American collection that we must turn for the confirmation that we desire. This is a vase now in the University Museum in Philadelphia, an amphora of the "Nicostrhenes shape," said to have been found on one of the Greek Islands, probably Samos or Chios; and at one time it had been in the possession of Tewfik Pasha, Khedive of Egypt. Furtwängler, on seeing this vase during his visit to America in 1904, and in commenting on it later,<sup>1</sup> called attention to its resemblance to the class of vases known as "Caeretan Hydriae." This theory was later developed and the vase published by Professor Bates,<sup>2</sup> whose article shows the close resemblance to this class of vases, especially in the painted designs on the bell-shaped foot, a common feature of the "Caeretan hydriae."

Of the place of manufacture of these vases there is much doubt. The present tendency is to assign them to Clazomenae, and associate them with the painted terra-cotta sarcophagi from that site. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that these hydriae have all been found at Caere, and that they have been found nowhere else; furthermore, that imitations of these hydriae, obviously Etruscan, exist. Dümmler, in proving the existence of these imitations, is considered to have proved the Ionic origin of the originals. But,

<sup>1</sup> *Münch. Sitzb.*, 1905, p. 255, no. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Trans. Free Museum of Science and Art, Univ. of Penna.*, II, part II, 1907, pp. 155-157, and pl. XI. In the *Catalogue of the Mediterranean Section of the University Museum*, it will be found on pp. 62-63, no. 43.

while not disagreeing with him, I should like to call attention to two facts: (1) that none of these "Caeretan hydriae," or any vase of this peculiar and beautiful technique, have been found in any of the places in Ionia assigned as the place of their manufacture; (2) that this amphora in Philadelphia while admittedly not found in Etruria, the only vase other than a hydria assigned to this technique, is of the "Nicostrhenes shape" with the same flat, metallic handles, and bell-shaped foot. Was it, too, like the hydriae, made for the Caeretan market and through some accident failed to reach its destination? Be that as it may, these vases are usually considered to antedate the black-figured ware of the period of Nicostrhenes; so that the existence of this amphora proves that the shape was already known before his activity began; and it is rather significant that it should be found in a technique so intimately associated with Caere that very few examples are found at any other site.

But all this fails to answer the question that must occur to all who have had the patience to follow this argument thus far. Why was there this demand at Caere for vases of this shape? Is it because of the obvious imitation of metallic vases? Or is it because of an already existing shape in Etruscan pottery? I believe the latter to be the correct explanation. It is known that this is a common shape in *bucchero* ware; and, indeed, amphorae of this type seem to be found among the earliest wheel-made *bucchero* vases. Furthermore, Caere was a centre for the manufacture of the early period of this ware, although later eclipsed by Chiusi, the ancient Clusium. I publish here for the first time two *bucchero* amphorae of this shape in the University Museum in Philadelphia (Fig. 3), undecorated, and of uncertain provenance, but almost certainly of earlier date than the vases of Nicostrhenes.

Let us now consider the amphorae of this shape in the mixed and red-figured techniques. The example in the former style is now in the Oesterreichisches Museum in Vienna. I must frankly admit that it is a puzzle to me. It has been published several times and, on the analogy of the two red-figured amphorae of this shape in the Louvre, is usually attributed to Pamphaeus;<sup>1</sup> but I fail to see that it has anything in common with any of the vases that have his signature, or with any of the work of the men who painted vases for him and whom I shall discuss later. Nor does it seem to me, apart from its shape, to have anything in common with the red-figured vases signed by Nicostrhenes. Nevertheless, I firmly believe that it came from the atelier of Nicostrhenes, although I am unable to place it.

As I have noted above, the two examples of this shape of amphora in the pure red-figured technique are both in the Louvre, where they

<sup>1</sup> For a bibliography of this vase (its number in Masner's catalogue is 319), see Hoppin, *R.F.* II, p. 309, no. 31 (under Pamphaeus).



have the numbers G2 and G3. Both bear the signature of Pamphaeus as potter.<sup>1</sup> And this brings up the fascinating question of the relationship of these two men—Nicostrates and Pamphaeus—which I have always believed, and which now, thanks to the researches of Hoppin and Beazley, I think I can prove to have been that of partners with Pamphaeus the junior member of the firm.

It is now possible, thanks to the industry of Dr. Hoppin, to analyze the vases signed by the two men, in the black-figured, mixed,



FIGURE 3. BUCCHERO AMPHORAE IN PHILADELPHIA

and red-figured techniques, and to note, if they exist, the points of resemblance.

Nicostrates, as is well known, did not confine himself merely to amphorae. He has to his credit many other forms of vases in the black-figured style, especially cylices.<sup>2</sup> Six black-figured signatures of Pamphaeus are extant, four of which are cylices, and two are hydriae, a shape not found in the signed work of Nicostrates. Of the eighteen signed cylices of Nicostrates, six are of the "eye" type, to two of this type by Pamphaeus, while each has one cylix, undecorated save for a gorgoneion in the interior.

The six "eye" cylices signed by Nicostrates are Florence 3888

<sup>1</sup> For bibliography, see *ibid.*, II, pp. 300-303, nos. 16,\* 17.\*

<sup>2</sup> The ninety-one signatures of Nicostrates in the black-figured technique are divided as follows: fifty-three amphorae of peculiar shape, eighteen cylices, five cyathi, three each of phialae and oenochoae, two amphorae of ordinary shape, one each of scyphus, pyxis, volute-crater, and olpe, and three signed fragments.



(Hoppin, *B.F.*, Nicosthenes 15\*); Munich 2029 (Jahn 1098; *ibid.*, 25\**bis*); New York 14.136 (*ibid.*, 26\*); Louvre F121 (*ibid.*, 50\*); Louvre F122 (*ibid.*, 51\*); and a cylix in Rouen (*ibid.*, 66\**ter*). The two by Pamphaeus are Louvre F127*bis* (*ibid.*, Pamphaeus 4\*), and one in the Vatican (*ibid.*, 5\*).

Of the vases of Nicosthenes, those in Florence and Munich are of no use, as they show subjects which have no parallels in the work of Pamphaeus; and Louvre F121 must also be discarded, as a very large portion of this vase is modern. The investigation limits itself, therefore, to a comparison of the two "eye" cylices of Pamphaeus with those of Nicosthenes in New York and Rouen, and Louvre F122. A careful study of these vases has led me to the belief that they are by the same hand. I am also inclined to believe that the two cylices with nothing but a gorgoneion in the interior for decoration, the one by Nicosthenes in the Cabinet des Médailles (Hoppin 29\*) and the one by Pamphaeus in Madrid (Hoppin, Pamphaeus 2\*) are also by the same hand.

Turning to the other vases in the black-figured technique, I note certain resemblances in the drawing on the volute crater by Nicosthenes in the British Museum (B364; Hoppin, Nicosthenes 20\*) to that on the hydria signed by Pamphaeus in the same museum (B300; Hoppin, Pamphaeus 1\*). But the horses in the quadriga in the hydria signed by Pamphaeus in the Cabinet des Médailles (254; Hoppin, Pamphaeus 3\*) show, in my opinion, to a marked degree the influence of the school of Execias. This would perhaps suggest that Pamphaeus, or his painter in the black-figured style,<sup>1</sup> had started learning his trade in the atelier of Execias, and then later had become associated with Nicosthenes.

But it is in the red-figured technique that the most important evidence concerning the relations of Nicosthenes and Pamphaeus is to be found. Two vases in the mixed technique and five in the red-figured, bearing the former's signature as potter, are extant, while the bulk of the work of the latter is in the later styles, one signature in the mixed, and twenty-seven in the red-figured technique being known, of which five vases have disappeared.

	<i>B.F.</i>	<i>Mixed</i>	<i>R.F.</i>
Nicosthenes.....	91	2	5
Pamphaeus.....	6	1	27

This shows that Pamphaeus was distinctly the younger man of the two.

Now what painters are employed by the two men? The re-

<sup>1</sup> K. McK. Elderkin in her article on Chachrylion (*Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.* xxxv, 1924 pp. 80-81) makes a good case for the black-figured potter being the painter of his own vase. It may very well be that Pamphaeus painted his own hydriae.

searches of Beazley and Hoppin come to our aid here, and the results obtained reveal an extraordinary parallelism. Of the seven vases of the mixed and red-figured styles signed by Nicosthenes, two bear the joint signature of Epictetus as painter, and four of the five remaining can be attributed. Of the vases of Pamphaeus, two likewise bear the joint signature of Epictetus as painter, and Beazley attributes to other masters eleven others. Of the remaining signatures of Pamphaeus, three are too fragmentary to attribute, and five, as mentioned above, have disappeared. This leaves one of the red-figured vases of Nicosthenes and seven of those of Pamphaeus which have not been attributed to a painter by Beazley.

Besides Epictetus, Beazley gives to Oltus one cylix in the Louvre in the mixed technique (F125; Hoppin, *R.F.* II, pp. 228-229, Nicosthenes 4\*) signed by Nicosthenes, and of Pamphaeus a cylix of similar mixed technique in Bonn (Hoppin, *B.F.*, p. 469; *R.F.* II, pp. 280-281, Pamphaeus 3\*), the two red-figured amphorae of the so-called "Nicosthenes shape" (if the results of this article be accepted, perhaps a better name would be "Caeretan amphorae") in the Louvre (G2, G3; Hoppin, *R.F.* II, pp. 300-303, Pamphaeus 16,\* 17\*) and the stamnos with Heracles and Achelous in the British Museum (E437; Hoppin, *op. cit.* II, Pamphaeus 10\*). To an artist whom he calls "the London Death and Sleep Painter" he attributes three of the red-figured vases of Nicosthenes, namely the cylix in Berlin (2324) and the two canthari in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (95.61 and 00.334).<sup>1</sup> To this same painter he gives four red-figured cylices of Pamphaeus; one in the Northampton collection at Castle Ashby, two in the British Museum (E12 and E815) and one in Petrograd (Stephani 828).<sup>2</sup> In addition, to a third painter to whom he gives no name, but who is closely allied to the "Death and Sleep Painter," he assigns three more vases of Pamphaeus, cylices in Corneto-Tarquiniia, the British Museum (E11), and Munich (Jahn 439).<sup>3</sup> For convenience, we shall refer to this master as the "Painter of the Corneto Cup." Therefore the situation is as follows, according to Beazley:

	<i>Nicosthenes</i>	<i>Pamphaeus</i>
Epictetus.....	2 (1 mixed)	2
Oltus.....	1 (mixed)	4 (1 mixed)
Death and Sleep Painter.....	3	4
Corneto Cup Painter.....	—	3
Unattributed.....	1	15 <sup>4</sup>
	—	—
Totals.....	7	28

<sup>1</sup> Hoppin, *R.F.* II, pp. 224-227, Nicosthenes 1\*-3.\*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, Pamphaeus 6,\* 9,\* 12,\* and 18.\*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, Pamphaeus 7,\* 8,\* and 14.\* For the last, see also *B.F.*, pp. 470-471.

<sup>4</sup> Of these five are lost and three too fragmentary to assign.

To the attributions of Beazley I should like to add some of my own. With great diffidence I should add to the work of the "Painter of the Corneto Cup" two other cylices, one in Boston (95.32), and one in the British Museum (1907.10-20, 1).<sup>1</sup> This latter vase has an interior design almost identical with that of the cylix in Munich which must certainly be by the same hand; while the Boston cup shows many points of resemblance to the others. To the "Death and Sleep Painter" I am inclined to give the cup in Athens (Collignon-Couve 1156) and the recently discovered cylix in the Villa Giulia;<sup>2</sup> and I should like to assign to his hand also the cup in Cagliari,<sup>3</sup> but realize that the publication of this vase is altogether too inaccurate to justify such an attribution without seeing it. Therefore, in my opinion, the situation for the red-figured vases of Nicosthenes and Pamphaeus is as follows:

	<i>Nicosthenes</i>	<i>Pamphaeus</i>
Epictetus.....	2 (1 mixed)	2
Oltus.....	1 (mixed)	4 (1 mixed)
Death and Sleep Painter.....	3	6
Corneto Cup Painter.....	—	5
Lost.....	—	5
Too fragmentary to assign.....	—	3
Unassigned.....	1	3
	—	—
Totals.....	7	28

The parallelism should be carefully noted. Nicosthenes employs no red-figured or mixed technique painter not employed by Pamphaeus; and, furthermore, the "Death and Sleep Painter's" work does not appear on any *signed* vases except those of Nicosthenes and Pamphaeus, although there are a few unsigned vases which Beazley has assigned to his hand. We have not as yet learned enough of the work of the Painter of the Corneto Cup to justify any statement as to his activity with other potters, but it would seem as though he confined his work to the atelier of Pamphaeus.

What is the situation with regard to Epictetus and Oltus? Let us first consider Oltus. As we have seen, one vase of Nicosthenes in the mixed technique and four vases of Pamphaeus, of which one is in the mixed technique, have been attributed to him. The name of Oltus is known to us only through his connection with the potter

<sup>1</sup> Hoppin, *R.F.* II, Pamphaeus 4\* and 13.\*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Pamphaeus 1\* and 19\**bis*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Pamphaeus 5.\* The scene shown in this cup is probably not, as Hoppin tentatively suggests, a man climbing a wall; it is more probably a man treading wine or oil in a vat; he grasps with his right hand a ring, something like one preserved in the University Museum in Philadelphia, published by McDaniel, *A.J.A.* XXII, 1918, pp. 295-303, who identifies it as a ring held by a worker, treading in a vat, to give himself support. Since writing this article the vase has been acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. It is certainly not by the "Death and Sleep Painter."

Euxitheus,<sup>1</sup> as the only two vases that bear his signature are signed jointly with this maker. If Beazley is correct, however, in assigning vases of the mixed technique to him, bearing the makers' signatures of Nicosthenes and Pamphaeus, we may reach the conclusion that Oltus learned his trade under them, and from them went and joined forces with Euxitheus.<sup>2</sup> Before leaving him, let us note that Beazley believes that Euphronius was associated with Euxitheus on a crater in the Louvre (G33), the signature on which is probably that of the latter; which suggests that all of the vases of Euphronius signed with the *ἐγγραφεν* formula, except the cylix in Munich, signed with Chachrylion, may have been made for Euxitheus, and that later he took over the factory of Euxitheus when he began to sign *ἐποίησεν*, —an attractive theory, but one impossible to prove.

The situation regarding Epictetus is somewhat more complicated. Apparently he is first associated with the potter Hischylus and started his career in that shop. This potter has been carefully, thoroughly, and capably studied by Walters,<sup>3</sup> whose article remains the authority for our knowledge of him. I believe that the statement made above can be proven by the evidence, for all the extant vases bearing the signature of Epictetus as painter and Hischylus as potter are in the mixed technique,<sup>4</sup> although one red figured cylix, now lost, was signed by both. After leaving Hischylus, he went, as I believe, to Nicosthenes and Pamphaeus, for each of whom he signs two vases.<sup>5</sup> In my opinion, the existence of a cylix in the mixed-technique signed jointly with Nicosthenes proves that it was to that atelier that he went after leaving Hischylus. There is great difficulty, however, in tracing his career after leaving Nicosthenes. We know that he was in business for himself at one time, for a signature of his with the *ἐποίησεν* formula exists in the National Museum at Athens,<sup>6</sup> and to this period undoubtedly the bulk of his work belongs; but he also signs vases for Pistoxenus<sup>7</sup> and Python,<sup>8</sup> and it is difficult to say when in his activity these vases belong. My own theory is

<sup>1</sup> For Euxitheus, see Hoppin, *R.F.* I, pp. 447-451; for Oltus, *ibid.*, II, pp. 247-262.

<sup>2</sup> If this is so then it can be stated that unsigned vases in the mixed technique attributed to Oltus were made for Nicosthenes and Pamphaeus.

<sup>3</sup> *J.H.S.* XXIX, 1909, pp. 103-119, pls. VIII-XII. Hischylus can be found in Hoppin, *B.F.* 137-139, *R.F.* II, 112-119.

<sup>4</sup> The vases signed by Epictetus and Hischylus are all cylices, and are: British Museum E3 (Hoppin, *R.F.* I, Epictetus 7\*), Faina Collection, Orvieto, 97 (*ibid.*, Epictetus 16\*) and Petrograd 645 (*ibid.*, Epictetus 23\*). The red-figured cup is lost (*ibid.*, Epictetus 28\*).

<sup>5</sup> The vases signed with Nicosthenes are a mixed technique cylix in Würzburg (358; Hoppin, *B.F.*, p. 462; *R.F.* I, p. 336, Epictetus 26\*) and a fragmentary vase in Odessa, of the red-figured technique (Hoppin, *R.F.* I, pp. 320-321, Epictetus 15\*). Those signed with Pamphaeus are both red-figured, both cylices, one of which is in Berlin (2262; *ibid.*, Epictetus 4\*) and the other in the Louvre (G5; *ibid.*, Epictetus 19\*).

<sup>6</sup> A1; *ibid.*, Epictetus 1.\*

<sup>7</sup> A scyphus in the British Museum, E139, *ibid.*, Epictetus 14.\*

<sup>8</sup> A cylix in the British Museum, E38, *ibid.*, Epictetus 10.\*

that the vase signed with Python is the latest extant vase of Epictetus, as Python was also potter for Duris in three instances; and that the vase signed for Pistoxenus precedes his entry into business for himself.<sup>1</sup>

In any case, it is my belief that Epictetus and Oltus were at work for Nicosthenes and Pamphaeus before the "Death and Sleep Painter" or the "Painter of the Corneto Cup," and that, in all probability, the two latter artists did not begin to paint for the firm of Nicosthenes and Pamphaeus until after the departure of Oltus and Epictetus. We may also say with certainty that the "Death and Sleep Painter" antedated the "Painter of the Corneto Cup," as the latter's work is not represented on any of the red-figured vases of Nicosthenes. The facts that examples of their work on signed vases are confined to the products of Nicosthenes and Pamphaeus, and that otherwise the two men employ the same painters, seem to me very significant and indicative of the fact that a partnership existed between these two potters, and that after the death or retirement of Nicosthenes, Pamphaeus continued the business.

What was the ultimate fate of the business? It is inconceivable, in terms of modern thought, that a concern which had built up a trade extending from Panticapaeum on the Black Sea, and Naukratis in Egypt, in the East, to Caere in Etruria and Girgenti in Sicily in the West, should suddenly stop business; but with the limited information in our possession any attempt to answer this question would involve us in flights of fancy and conjecture, for which no definite proofs could be offered. A chart could be made (in the preparation of this article in the rough I attempted to do so, and it led so far afield that I decided to abandon the project) which would show all sorts of connections and ramifications that would bring in the most famous names in Attic red-figured ware, as more or less remotely connected with our firm but, having made the chart, nothing could be proven, except to show in a graphic way the close relationship between Nicosthenes and Pamphaeus, which has perhaps been sufficiently indicated in the text. One might, for example, advance the theory that, through Oltus, first Euxitheus and then Euphronius carried on the establishment; or with equal plausibility it might be suggested that when Epictetus signed with the *ἐποίησεν* formula, he was carrying on the business, which later was taken over by Python and that Duris eventually signs as painter for the successors to Nicosthenes and Pamphaeus. But these theories must be discarded, as there is no proof for them, or any evidence whatever to confirm or support them.

<sup>1</sup> The three vases signed by Python with Duris are a cylix in the Louvre (G121; *ibid.*, Duris 25\*) and two cylices in the Oesterreichisches Museum in Vienna (324, 325; *ibid.*, Duris 30\* and 31\*).

What, then, can we prove regarding the activity and affiliations of Nicosthenes? Two things; first, that the amphora that bears his name was not his invention, but was developed by him and was probably made for the Caeretan market, and should therefore perhaps be more accurately called the "Caeretan amphora"; and second, that the evidence points very strongly to a partnership having existed between him and Pamphaeus at the end of the black-figured and beginning of the red-figured period, with the latter as the junior member of the firm.

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I wish to express my deep appreciation to the authorities of the Rhode Island School of Design for permission and encouragement to publish their amphora by Nicosthenes: and to the staff of the University Museum in Philadelphia for the photograph of the bucchero amphorae here published, and their permission to include it in this article.

### APHRODITE WORSHIP ON A MINOAN GEM

Not the least important chapter of Minoan archaeology is that of the gems and the seal impressions which obviously preserve scenes of religious character. The fascination of their study is increased by the fact that the meaning of the scenes is usually obscure. Among the many gems that represent sanctuaries and acts of worship, but at the same time unique in subject matter, is one to which this paper is devoted, a gem which has previously been described rather than interpreted (Fig. 1).

It is a rock crystal lentoid from the Idaean Cave. Evans' description of it<sup>1</sup> is as follows: "A female votary is seen blowing a conch-shell or triton before an altar of the usual Mycenaean shape. Above the altar is seen a group of three trees apparently cypresses, and immediately in front of them the 'horns of consecration.' To the right of the altar is a rayed symbol, to the left is apparently another altar base, with a conical excrescence, and behind the votary another tree." The description is fairly adequate, though scant, but Evans' interpretation of the object at the left of the altar is open to question, and, moreover, he has made no attempt to explain the meaning of the scene.

Furtwängler<sup>2</sup> wrongly interprets the object in the hand of the votary as a large fruit to be presented as an offering. That Evans is correct in naming this a shell is clear from a clay seal impression<sup>3</sup> where two conch-shells of identically the same shape as the one on the gem are depicted. The curiously pointed object at the left of the altar Furtwängler calls a symbol which occurs frequently in Cretan writing. He was perhaps misled in this interpretation by the picture in the *Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei*<sup>4</sup> where the object has been drawn with a crossbar near the point.

This makes it slightly resemble a pictograph which Evans calls a mallet,<sup>5</sup> though the proportions are somewhat different. But with-



FIGURE 1. MINOAN GEM

<sup>1</sup> *J. H. S.*, 1901, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> *Antike Gemmen* III, p. 47, fig. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *B. S. A.*, IX, p. 56, fig. 34, and *Knossos* I, p. 696, fig. 518h.

<sup>4</sup> VI, p. 178, fig. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Cretan Pictographs*, p. 306.



out the crossbar which does not occur in Evans' most recent publication of the gem<sup>1</sup> the similarity to the pictograph is entirely destroyed. Nor can the star be considered a pictograph, as the five-pointed star never occurs in Cretan linear script, though the six- and eight-pointed forms are common.

In my opinion there is represented on the gem the sanctuary of Aphrodite in her character as a fertility-goddess and a deity of the heavens and of the ocean. We know that Crete as well as Cyprus was a strong center of her cult, and she is so closely linked with the Mother Goddess, with Astarte and Ishtar as to be virtually the same deity under a different name. Her connection with the heavens—with the title Ourania—is eastern. Farnell<sup>2</sup> tells us that the star was seen occasionally on Assyrian monuments and was perhaps the symbol of the Semitic goddess. It is certainly the symbol of Ishtar on an Assyrian gem<sup>3</sup> where she appears heavily armed riding on the back of a lion, with a star on the top of her elaborate headdress. Aphrodite apparently ceased to be an important goddess of the skies in later Hellenic worship, but that she was still so considered in some localities is clear from a coin of Ouranopolis, on which Aphrodite Ourania appears clad in a long chiton and peplos, her head surmounted by a star.<sup>4</sup> Considering that Cretan worship was always strongly influenced by Oriental cults it seems safe to interpret the star on the Idaean gem as a symbol of Aphrodite Ourania. Though stars generally occur in the upper field of gems and cylinders, they do appear now and then in the lower corners.<sup>5</sup>

The trees behind the altar may likewise find their explanation in the cult of Aphrodite, as a vegetation-goddess. According to Hesychius trees were cut down and set up by the portal of the house as a dedication to Aphrodite,<sup>6</sup> and Lucian<sup>7</sup> tells us that at the festival of "the torch", in honor of the goddess of Hieropolis, large trees were erected in the courtyard of the temple. On the Cretan gem four trees occur, three immediately behind the altar and the other at the left. These may very likely stand within the sanctuary of the goddess.

Perhaps the most important object in the scene on the gem is that which is represented at the left of the altar. This I believe to be a primitive image of Aphrodite herself. The resemblance to the fiddle-shaped Cycladic figurines of Neolithic times is striking indeed. A number of these are pictured in Figure 2, some with long necks and no indication of heads, like the figurine on the gem, some with the waist

<sup>1</sup> Knossos I, p. 222, fig. 167 from which the figure used here is reproduced.

<sup>2</sup> *Cults of the Greek States* II, p. 629.

<sup>3</sup> Furtwängler, *op. cit.* I, pl. I, 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat., Macedon*, p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> Furtwängler, *op. cit.* I, pl. II, 35.

<sup>6</sup> Farnell, *op. cit.* II, p. 642.

<sup>7</sup> *de Dea Syria*, 49.

line and breasts clearly marked, others with only the slightest indication of human form. Number 12 of the series is little more than a conical stone with slightly concave sides. Numbers 3 and 14 are also very crude. In fact they suggest a development from a simple, pointed stone, such as number 2 (Fig. 2). The sacred character of curiously shaped stones among primitive peoples is well known, and the pointed stone was sacred to a superlative degree. Moreover, in historical times we find it particularly associated with Astarte. The conical stone appears on coins of Mallus as her symbol,<sup>1</sup> and on coins of Byblus it occurs within the temple as the divine image. A coin of Ouranopolis, already mentioned, shows beside the seated figure of



FIGURE 2. CYCLADIC FIGURINES

Aphrodite Ourania a conical stone capped with a star. The natural inference is that here Aphrodite is represented in two ways, in primitive aniconic form, and also as an anthropomorphic deity. The former has lost its original importance and been relegated to a subordinate position as a symbol of the goddess.

Farnell<sup>2</sup> considers it probable that in many localities the earliest representations of Astarte were aniconic. The question readily suggests itself whether the Cycladic figurines may have developed from natural stones of approximately conical shape which were first of all considered as sacred to the fertility-deity, and which, little by little, came to be actually identified with the deity. It would be a simple step, then, to conceive of a human goddess and to translate the conical stone into human form. Primitive man would easily think of the point of the stone as the head and neck, and the more bulbous por-

<sup>1</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 606.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* II, p. 670.

tion as the trunk of the body. Just as the conical stones had neither arms nor legs, so the earliest figurines are represented without extremities. Gradually a closer approximation to the human form was reached. The neck was shortened, the waist and breasts indicated, and eventually, with the addition of legs, the original conical form became less obvious. The early anthropomorphic stage in the representation of Astarte is possibly supplied by the large marble "idols" of female form from the Cyclades.<sup>1</sup> The fact that these "idols" include nude female forms with arms crossed below the breasts confirms the interpretation above given of the violin types as earlier representations of the fertility-goddess. Moreover, Astarte frequently appears nude in primitive times, as is attested by the terra cottas from Warka, where she is sometimes represented nude with her hands pressed against her breasts.<sup>2</sup>

The interpretation of the object on the Minoan gem as a primitive image of Aphrodite is further strengthened by the fact that such figurines have been found in Crete in Neolithic strata,<sup>3</sup> and in Evans' words "it is impossible in Crete to dissociate these primitive images from those that appear in the shrines and sanctuaries of the Great Minoan Goddess."<sup>4</sup> Additional proof that the goddess might be represented in the form of a primitive idol is supplied by a Cypriote cylinder where the rayed object at the right has been recognized, by Perrot and Chipiez<sup>5</sup> as a figurine of Astarte. If the primitive Cycladic figurines can be identified as Aphrodite, a possible explanation is furnished for the presence of numerous figurines in graves both in Phoenicia and elsewhere. In the Cypriote necropolis at Dali they have been identified as statuettes of Astarte.<sup>6</sup> There is some evidence of a mystery cult in Cyprus in which the image of the dead goddess was restored to life, and in Assyrian religion Ishtar, after her descent to hell, was rescued and sprinkled with the water of life.<sup>7</sup> What more appropriate for burial with the dead than figurines of the goddess whose resurrection may have suggested the possibility of a future life to mankind?

The fact that a Neolithic figurine appears on a gem of the Bronze Age need disturb no one, since primitive images would be likely to survive because of their highly sacred nature. Moreover, the conical form continued to be worshipped even under the Romans, as is seen on a coin of Byblus Struck by Marcrinus.<sup>8</sup> Other coins of Cyprus will demonstrate that the simple cone did not always occur, but

<sup>1</sup> See Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archaeology*, p. 43, fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer, *Paus.* II, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> *Knossos* I, p. 49, and *Cretan Pictographs*, p. 125, figs. 124, 125 and 126.

<sup>4</sup> *Knossos* I, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité* III, p. 639, fig. 432.

<sup>6</sup> Babelon, *Manual of Oriental Antiquities*, p. 260.

<sup>7</sup> Farnell *op. cit.* II, p. 651.

<sup>8</sup> Per. and Chip. *op. cit.* III, p. 60, fig. 19.

that modified forms were likewise in use. Some show, as the temple image, a conical base with rudimentary arms and head;<sup>1</sup> and incidentally furnish excellent evidence for the theory that the human representation of the deity developed slowly from the aniconic form, and that images of Aphrodite in all stages of development might be worshipped contemporaneously.

To return to the gem (Fig. 1) the votary with the conch-shell deserves some consideration, because this figure throws additional light on the significance of the subject. Shells were frequently used in religious rites, particularly the conch-shell trumpet, for Evans has found specimens of these both at Phaestus and Cnossus,<sup>2</sup> and his interpretation that they were used in religious ceremonies to summon the divinity seems plausible. I should like to go one step further and limit the use of the conch-shell trumpet to divinities of the ocean. It is particularly appropriate to Aphrodite as a goddess of the sea, ἀφρογενής. Moreover, numerous cockle-shells, the type associated with Aphrodite in Greek art, have been found in Minoan sanctuaries, especially in the shrine of the Snake Goddess at Cnossus, where they seem to serve the purposes of cult rather than of decoration. Triton shells have also been found in Mycenaean beehive tombs in Crete.<sup>3</sup> Can it be that they allude, as do the figurines found in tombs, to Aphrodite in her ethonic aspect?

This raises the question whether Aphrodite was a divinity of the sea in Minoan times, since the actual evidence of her connection with the sea is late. Herodotus<sup>4</sup> tells us that the oldest sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania was at Ascalon. In this sanctuary, which stood on the banks of a lake, full of fish, the goddess was represented as a woman from the hips upward, but as a fish from the hips downward.<sup>5</sup> Here and throughout Syria fish were sacred to her. She was from very early times, then, a goddess of the water, perhaps first of the stream. However, the transition from stream to sea would be easy so soon as her worship was transferred across the sea to the inhabitants of the islands, such as the Cretans. The fish is the symbol of the Cretan Goddess on a bronze votive tablet from the Psychro Cave<sup>6</sup> where it appears together with the dove. This same tablet bears further marks of identification, the rayed disk and the moon, the usual marks of Aphrodite Ourania, thus combining the ideas of sky, air, and water. Here the sacred fish of Aphrodite would readily suggest the ocean, even though the goddess may not in the earliest

<sup>1</sup> Per. and Chip. *op. cit.* III, p. 266, fig. 199.

<sup>2</sup> *Cnossos I*, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> Evans, *J. H. S.* 1901, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> I, 105. It is interesting to note in this connection that at Philistine Ascalon pottery of distinctly Mycenaean type has been found, showing close relationship between the two regions. See E. Saussey *Syria V*, 1924, pp. 171-185 and pl. XLIII.

<sup>5</sup> Frazer, *Paus.* II, p. 130.

<sup>6</sup> Evans, *Cnossos I*, p. 632, fig. 470 and p. 635.

instance have been conceived as a sea-deity. A shell is as suitable to the Cretan Goddess as is the fish, and appears in Greek art with Aphrodite to suggest her birth from the sea. The most famous example of this subject is the painting of Apelles. In Hellenistic art the shell and the dolphin are interchangeable attributes of Aphrodite. Certainly the shells in the shrines at Cnossus are to be associated with the sea, for they are in no way appropriate to streams and lakes. The more one studies the development of Greek religion the clearer does it become that its origins must be sought in the remotest antiquity, and that the continuities are virtually unbroken.

In Greek times Aphrodite's association with the sea is undisputed. At Hermion was a temple of Aphrodite, surnamed the Goddess of the Deep Sea and Goddess of the Haven.<sup>1</sup> On the Throne of Zeus, Aphrodite was represented rising from the sea.<sup>2</sup> The supposition is that this subject was by no means a new departure. Certainly on the Throne of Zeus at Olympia only the most conservative religious beliefs would be expressed, beliefs which were supported by a long line of tradition. Aphrodite Ourania was also worshipped at Elis and was represented with her foot resting on a tortoise, in a statue by Phidias.<sup>3</sup> This may be another indication of her mastery over the sea, as may likewise be the coins of Aegina with their sea-tortoises.<sup>4</sup> Earlier than this, evidence for her worship as a sea-deity is wanting, but one is forced to believe that it did not originate spontaneously at a period when Greek religion was fully formed. Its origins must be looked for elsewhere, and it seems more than likely that earlier traces of this worship are to be seen in Crete.

If the assumption is correct, then, that the shell in the hand of the votary indicates a deity of the sea, it is possible that we have Aphrodite represented on the Idaean gem in three aspects. The star signifies her mastery over the heavens, the trees her power over the produce of the earth, and the shell suggests that she rules the waves from which she rose.

KATE MCK. ELDERKIN

PRINCETON

<sup>1</sup> Paus. II, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. V, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. VI, 25.

<sup>4</sup> Milbank, *The Coinage of Aegina*, *Num. Notes and Mon.*, No. 24, p. 12.

CLEON'S AMPHIPOLITAN CAMPAIGN AND THE  
ASSESSMENT LIST OF 421

IN Cleon's meteoric career nothing is more remarkable than his second rise to power. His own mistakes, through the ruin and disgrace they had brought upon Athens, had apparently made it impossible for him to regain the pinnacle of personal authority to which the affair of Pylos had brought him in 425. Yet in 422 he possessed, almost unimpaired, the trust and confidence of the Athenian people. The explanation, both of his fall from grace and of his rise again to power, is to be sought in his shifting attitude toward the empire.

His fall was due partly to criminal disregard for the modest Delian Empire established and maintained by Pericles in the days before the Peloponnesian War, partly to the broad sweep of his own imperialism, an imperialism which aimed to make Athens mistress of all Hellenes and which encouraged the more visionary of his followers to dream even of the conquest of Carthage.<sup>1</sup> The issue on which he regained his prestige was likewise imperialism, but this time an imperialism of a more chastened and a more Periclean stripe.

Cleon's attitude toward the old empire during the first brief period of his ascendancy, his utter disregard for Periclean precepts and practice, and the far-reaching character of his own plans are clearly seen in the reassessment of tribute in 425/4 and in the campaigns of 424. Similarly, the assessment list of 421,<sup>2</sup> together with Thucydides' account of the Amphipolitan campaign and the events leading up to it, throw a flood of light upon his adoption of the Periclean platform of imperial defense in a successful eleventh-hour attempt to reestablish his shattered prestige. Besides illustrating Cleon's political methods, the assessment list of 421 enables us to appraise more accurately Thucydides' treatment of the man he so cordially disliked.

To understand aright Cleon's conversion to a belief in the importance of the Delian Empire as an end in itself, we must begin with a study of the imperialism of 425-424 which was directly responsible for his temporary eclipse. The assessment of 425/4<sup>3</sup> shows that he regarded the Delian Empire mainly as an important source

<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes, *Knights*, 174, 1303; cf. 797.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G. I*, 37, frags. yz" and *I.G. I*, Suppl., pp. 140-141. Cavaignac, *L'Histoire Financière d'Athènes au Ve Siècle*, p. XLV and pl. 1, n. 3; Wilhelm, *Urkunden des Attischen Reiches, Anzeiger der k. k. Akad. der Wiss. in Wien*, 1909, pp. 48-49 and 52-53. We shall show in this paper that these fragments belong to a list drawn up in 421. Cavaignac is obviously wrong in assigning *I.G. I*, 543 to this list, for the stones overlap. Cf. Wilhelm, *loc. cit.* Possibly Bannier, *B. Ph. W.* 1916, pp. 1067-1070 is right in including with our stone frags. t, u, v, w, x, of *I.G. I*, 37.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G. I*, 37, to be published by Hiller von Gaertringen as *I.G. I*<sup>2</sup>, 63.



of revenue to Athens, valuable for the attainment of further ends, for by this assessment the tribute of the subject cities was more than doubled, apparently in order that money might be forthcoming to force into the empire cities on the outskirts of the Hellenic world that had never before been enrolled as Athenian tributaries.<sup>1</sup> The assessment list of 425/4 was at the same time his program and a means of its realization.

But his plans for the establishment of a land empire in central Greece form the best criterion of his policy toward the existing maritime empire. Instead of trying to check the activities of Brasidas in the Macedonian peninsula, as all students of Periclean strategy would have considered necessary, he was bending every energy to the conquest of Boeotia.

No one should question Cleon's responsibility for the disasters which followed attempts to realize these grandiose schemes, for in the strategic elections, which offer the best means of testing a demagogue's control over the affairs of state, his candidates in the spring of 424 were almost invariably chosen. Hippocrates, a nephew of Pericles, who on various occasions had identified himself with the party of chauvinistic imperialists led by Cleon, became head of the strategic board, and, what was more significant, Cleon himself was elected general.<sup>2</sup>

During the course of the summer, the Athenian people saw one after another of his imperialistic ventures fail. While he was safely seated at his desk in the strategion, the Athenian generals returned from Sicily with empty hands, Hippocrates was overwhelmingly defeated in Boeotia, with the loss of many lives, his own included, and Lamachus was unsuccessful in his attempt to carry out the Euxine program outlined in the assessment of the year before. Cleon had given the Athenian people not one thing he had promised. But worse than Cleon's failure to carry out promises of enlarged empire was his failure to retain even what Athens had possessed when he was elected general. Neglect of the defenses in the north had allowed Brasidas to win such a foothold in and about the Macedonian peninsula that it seemed almost impossible to reestablish Athenian power and prestige on the coast of Thrace.<sup>3</sup>

It is difficult to say whether popular indignation was aroused

<sup>1</sup> Such cities are those of the Euxine, and Melos in the Aegean. Cf. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1, 330, note 3; II<sup>2</sup>, 2, 361. In frg. p of this list we find also the name of the Pierians of Pergamus, a people living in the rich mining region of Mt. Pangaeum. It is quite probable, too, that the name Trailus should be restored in frg. z of this same list. Cf. Meritt, *A Restoration in I.G.* I, 37, *A.J.A.* XXIX, pp. 26-27.

<sup>2</sup> For a recent study of Athenian politics during 424/3, see West, *A.J.P.* XLV, pp. 141 ff; also *Clas. Phil.* XIX, pp. 217 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The death of the Odrysian king Sitalces also endangered the Athenian empire, for the new king Seuthes was an enemy of Athens and an ally of the fickle Perdiccas. Cf. Thuc. IV, 101, 5 and II, 101.



more by the defeat at Delion or by the danger to the Athenian Empire; but it is certain that Brasidas' threat to the security of the old established order brought Athens, and Cleon with it, to a realization of the importance of the Delian League.

Chauvinistic imperialism and its author were now thoroughly discredited. A series of bye elections in 424/3 and the regular elections of 423 filled the strategic board with Cleon's opponents and showed that the people had lost their faith in the man of Pylos. But the clever politician did not long despair. The developments in the north offered him a new field for his imperialism, one more in accord with the tradition of Athens during the later years of Pericles; and we see him posing henceforth as an ardent advocate of imperial defense against Brasidas. There must be no surrender of Athenian interest on the coast of Thrace. The tardiness of Thucydides at Amphipolis undoubtedly opened the way for Cleon's new policy, since by condemning Thucydides he could shift his own responsibility for Athenian misfortunes to the shoulders of his opponents, and again appear before the people as the champion of Greater Athens.

A second step in his return to popularity resulted from the revolt of Scione to Brasidas during the truce of 423. Cleon immediately proposed an expedition for the restoration and defense of the empire. Scione was to be recovered and punished with extreme severity for its rebellion,<sup>1</sup> and since this proposal met the needs of the situation in a manner acceptable even to Periclean democrats,<sup>2</sup> the ex-demagogue did not find it difficult to regain the trust and confidence of the people. In the election of 422 he was again chosen general, and the fact that the one campaign of the year was his own expedition for the recovery of lost territory in Thrace is convincing testimony to the platform on which he had been elected.

At the time when Cleon set forth from Athens the situation was favorable for the success of his venture. Perdicas, angered by the conduct of Brasidas, had made first a truce and then an alliance with Athens.<sup>3</sup> This reconciliation in turn made possible negotiations and a treaty with a number of Bottic cities in the year 422.<sup>4</sup> Cleon, therefore, could direct his attention exclusively to the districts east of Pallene.

Remembering Cleon's boast before the campaign against Pylos, we may imagine his promise now to return to Athens with Amphipolis retaken and with the lost tributaries in parts Thraceward once

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. IV, 122, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides seems to have approved of it. Cf. Thuc. IV, 122.

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. IV, 132; I.G. I, 42-43 and Suppl., pp. 141 ff. Cf. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, III, 2, 1170, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> I.G. I, Suppl., pp. 142 ff.; Ditt. *Syll.* <sup>2</sup> I, 89. For the date cf. Meritt, *Peace between Athens and Bottice*, A.J.A. XXIX, pp. 29-31.

again restored to their allegiance. The demagogue had a reputation to regain, and every name restored to the Athenian assessment lists and every additional city enrolled would be a permanent tribute to his ability and a proof of his devotion to the interests of the Athenian people. As a politician his task was to make two tributaries where there had been only one before, and this could be done by fostering the latent particularism of villages heretofore dependent on their more powerful neighbors. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find that the list of 421 is full of unknown names of insignificant villages never before assessed by Athens, at least directly. To understand the full significance of this list, we must read it as a campaign document, a bald summary of promises fulfilled, reflecting, even though in an exaggerated way, the importance of Cleon's achievements.

Looking at the assessment in this light we need not criticize Thucydides for failing to mention the recovery or subjugation of places named in this list. Cleon's petty successes in 422 were, in the mind of the historian, as little significant as Cleon's grand but futile promises in 425/4. On the other hand, a study of the assessment list will make it clear that consciously or unconsciously Thucydides omitted details of successes and inserted references to failures in order to minimize the results obtained by his enemy, just as he apparently magnified Cleon's responsibility for the expedition's ultimate failure by neglecting to mention even that the latter had colleagues in command.<sup>1</sup>

For information about this campaign supplementary to Thucydides' narrative, we are therefore dependent on an assessment list that has never been fully understood nor even correctly dated. From internal evidence we shall show that it was a direct consequence of Cleon's last expedition.

By the editors of the Corpus the fragments which we call collectively the assessment list of 421 were assigned to the *τάξις φόρου* of 425/4. Cavaignac realized that they must belong to another year, but he was undecided between 421/0 and 417/6. Wilhelm noted that the character of the writing was very much like that of documents from the year 421/0.<sup>2</sup> A third attempt to date this inscription placed it before the spring of 421/0, because Meeceberna, one of the towns assessed in the list, was lost to Athens in the late winter of that year.<sup>3</sup>

The choice of these dates was dictated by the theory, once commonly held, that reassessments were made every four years, first at the Great Panathenaea, but from 437 on at the lesser festival in the

<sup>1</sup> Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1, 339 note.

<sup>2</sup> For references; see note 2, p. 59, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> West, *History of the Chalcidic League*, p. 85, note 9.

second year of the Panathenaic penteteris. But when it was shown that reassessments were made as the occasion demanded, and that we must modify the theory of quadrennial assessments, as originally formulated,<sup>1</sup> it became impossible to use the four-year interval for dating the *τάξις φόρων* in question either in 417/6 or in 421/0. We have only Wilhelm's opinion that the writing is quite similar to that of documents from 421/0, in addition to whatever information we may be able to glean from the stone itself.

Fortunately, there is one connecting link between this assessment and the quota list of 421/0. On one of the fragments of the quota list appears the name Σουβίλ[— together with the amount of its tithe to the goddess of --]Γ ΗΙΙΙ.<sup>2</sup> In the assessment list there is the item XXXX Σου[—.<sup>3</sup> Since the tithe to the goddess was a mina from every talent, the quota paid to the goddess from a tribute of 4,000 drachmae would be [Δ]Γ ΗΙΙΙ. The last figures of this sum are credited to Σουβίλ[— in the quota list. Consequently we are justified in restoring there the full amount [Δ]Γ ΗΙΙΙ<sup>4</sup> and in completing the reading Σου in the *τάξις φόρων* to agree with the name on the quota list: Σου[βίλ]—. The final letter is probably an alpha.<sup>5</sup>

This comparison of the two inscriptions shows at least that there is no internal evidence against dating the assessment list prior to the spring of 421/0 and that the possibilities are strongly in favor of this earlier date. It seems safe to say that this assessment list is the one on the basis of which the quota list of 421/0 was drawn.

Turning now to a study of the names recorded in the assessment list, we find that it was probably necessitated by the events of 422.

In the first place, the alliance with Perdiccas had returned as Athenian tributaries the cities on the Macedonian coast once subject to Athens. This change is reflected in the assessment list by the appearance of the name Sinus,<sup>6</sup> a town whose last known payment of tribute had been made in 433/2.<sup>7</sup> That its appearance on the

<sup>1</sup> Wing, *Tribute Assessments in the Athenian Empire*, *Report of the Amer. Hist. Assn.*, 1916, Vol. I, pp. 293 ff., has gone farther than the evidence warrants.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G. I*, 272b, assigned by Wilhelm, *op. cit.* pp. 50–51 to the same year as *I.G. I*, 260 (421/0). Wilhelm corrects the reading of the Corpus: Σουβίλ[α] to Σουβίλ[α].

<sup>3</sup> *I.G. I*, 37, frg. z". Wilhelm, *op. cit.* p. 49 gives the letters as ΣΟΜ and not as ΣΟΥ as found in the Corpus.

<sup>4</sup> The initial [Δ] of the Corpus was, of course, a restoration *ex coniectura*. Since the left margin is lost we may restore quite as easily an initial [Δ] before the figures Γ ΗΙΙΙ found on the stone.

<sup>5</sup> [Σουβίλ]α should probably be restored in *I.G. I*, 37, frg. z, line 9, which gives us the final letter of the name in *I.G. I*, 272b. There is no other Hellenistic name of six letters ending in α except possibly Ζελαῖραι which is found elsewhere in *I.G. I*, 37, frg. z'. *I.G. I*, Supp. 272e, . . . \ΒΙΑ, should also be restored Σελίβια. From 272e we should restore in 272b the name following Sombia as Σελίβια[α].

<sup>6</sup> Sinus has been identified with the Sindus of Herodotus, VII, 123, and the Sinthus of Stephanus. It was located at the head of the Thermaic gulf. Cf. Ditt. *Syll.* <sup>3</sup> I, 332, note 4. For the treaty with Perdiccas see Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, III, 2, 1170, note 1. Serme, too, was possibly located somewhere on the Macedonian border.

<sup>7</sup> *I.G. I*, 244.

assessment list indicates more than an idle hope is shown by the fact that it actually paid its quota in 421/0.<sup>1</sup> Those cities of Bottice, likewise, which had concluded an alliance with Athens at about this time, are represented on the assessment list. They too were actual and not merely potential tributaries of Athens in 421/0, for Tripoeae and Camacae, both party to the Bottice alliance,<sup>2</sup> are on the quota list of that year. The name *Τριπῳαί* represents this group of cities in the assessment list.<sup>3</sup> Undoubtedly Camacae and the other towns which ratified the alliance were on another part of the stone, now lost. Their return as allies to Athens is one of the reasons why the assessment of 421 was a necessity.

But another very important reason for a reassessment at this time was the campaign of Cleon in the autumn of 422. In view of the fragmentary nature of the list as it is preserved, his conquests are reflected in the inscription with remarkable clarity.

The expedition first touched at Scione, and then sailed to Sithonia where Torone was retaken. This was in itself an important success for Athens, but its immediate results were much more significant than Thucydides gives us reason to suspect. It was followed by the evacuation on the part of Brasidas and his discouraged Chalcidic allies of the entire Sithonian peninsula. Of this Thucydides gives only a hint when he tells us that Brasidas, when coming close to Torone and learning that it had been taken, stopped and returned. But the assessment list is more explicit, for on it are found the names of Singus, Meczyberna, and Gale.<sup>4</sup> There can be no question that these three towns, or what was left of them after the synoecism of Olynthus in 432, were in the hands of the enemy, at least after Brasidas got control of Torone and southern Sithonia. That there was very little left of them is shown by the absurdly low tribute of ten drachmae demanded of each of them.<sup>5</sup>

A brief notice in Thucydides with regard to Meczyberna confirms our view about the completeness of the evacuation of Sithonia.<sup>6</sup> It was in the hands of Athens in the winter of 421/0, and as it is unlikely that the Chalcidians surrendered it willingly after the peace of Nicias by which they refused absolutely to be bound, we can infer only that it fell into the hands of Athens at a time when Athenian power had revived in Sithonia through Cleon's successes there.

<sup>1</sup> *I.G. I*, 37, frg. y; *I.G. I*, 260.

<sup>2</sup> *Ditt. Syll.* <sup>2</sup> I, 89; *I.G. I*, 260.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G. I*, 37, frg. y.

<sup>4</sup> Singus was on the eastern coast of Sithonia; Meczyberna was at the head of the Toronaic gulf on the site of the modern Molyvopyrgus; and Gale was on the western coast of Sithonia a short distance north of Torone. For an identification of the sites and a brief account of the fortunes of these three towns during the first ten years of the war see Meritt, *A Restoration in I.G. I*, 37, *A.J.A.* XXIX, pp. 26-28. In frg. y, *-ιπος* should probably be restored *Πίλοπος*. Piloros was near the base of Sithonia. This part of the stone, *in rasura*, is not *στοιχῆδεν*.

<sup>5</sup> *I.G. I*, Suppl., pp. 140-141.

<sup>6</sup> *Thuc. V*, 39.

After the death of Cleon Athens was on the defensive, and the few details that we know of events Thraceward refer to Chalcidian conquests of Athenian allied cities.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, it now seems likely that the much debated clause in the Peace of Nicias about Mecyberna, Singus, and Sane<sup>2</sup> should be interpreted as giving Athens authority to prevent the reincorporation of these towns into the body politic of their stronger neighbors, Olynthus and Acanthus. Thus the treaty itself may be used to supplement the narrative of Thucydides and to corroborate our interpretation of the assessment.

Possibly the most convincing evidence, at least so far as concerns Singus, Mecyberna, and Gale, that the assessment list of 421 is not a padded document like large parts of the *τάξις φόρων* of 425/4 lies in the ten drachmae assessment of these three towns, an amount so low that it would be humorous if charged against expected tributaries in *partibus infidelium*. The fact that these three cities had been assessed the same low amounts in 425/4 shows that they were in Athenian hands before the arrival of Brasidas in the Macedonian peninsula.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, on one of the annual lists of those slain fighting for Athens is recorded the name of a man who died in Singus.<sup>4</sup> While the date of this is uncertain—it comes from one of two years, either just before Brasidas reached Chalcidice, or while he was active there—it shows that Athens held Singus at about the time when the assessment list of 425/4 was drawn up. Possibly the soldier lost his life defending the city against Brasidas. In any case Cleon, in recovering the town in 422, was merely fulfilling his preëlection promises to restore the shattered empire.

From Torone, so Thucydides briefly informs us, Cleon sailed to Eion on the lower Strymon.<sup>5</sup> But Cleon's plans did not allow him to pass by revolted towns without at least an attempt to recapture them. All of the towns of Athos, except Dion and Sane, had gone over to Brasidas.<sup>6</sup> But Brasidas, after the fall of Torone, had withdrawn to the defense of Amphipolis. Since no aid could be expected from their Spartan ally, the cities of Athos became loyal subjects of Athens again, probably of their own volition after learning of Torone's fate.

Of Cleon's success on Athos, as in the case of Sithonia, Thucydides says nothing, but students for many years have known of this

<sup>1</sup> For Mecyberna, cf. Thuc. V, 39; for Thyssus, cf. Thuc. V, 35 and p. 66 *infra* and note.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. V, 18, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Meritt, A Restoration in *I.G.* I, 37, *A.J.A.* XXIX, pp. 26-28.

<sup>4</sup> Ditt. *Syll.* <sup>2</sup> I, 77. There was fighting also in Sermylia, a town not far to the east of Mecyberna near the base of the Sithonian peninsula. This, too, was probably in Athenian hands when Brasidas began his operations in the Chalcidic region. It could hardly have remained Athenian while Brasidas was active, and yet it was in Athenian possession at the time of the Peace of Nicias. Cf. Thuc. V, 18, 8.

<sup>5</sup> Thuc. V, 3, 6.

<sup>6</sup> Thuc. IV, 109.

particular lapse on the part of the author.<sup>1</sup> Consequently the assessment list of 421, which contains the names of Cleonae and Acroathos, tells us little that was not already known about affairs on Acte.<sup>2</sup> These two names, together with that of Thyssus (not on the extant fragments of our list, but known to have been loyal to Athens in 421),<sup>3</sup> Sane and Dion (which did not go over to Brasidas) account for all but one of the Actean cities mentioned by Thucydides.<sup>4</sup> The assessment list confirms the conclusions of earlier scholars, and reciprocally their account of Cleon's work on Athos corroborates our thesis that the reassessment of 421 was necessitated in large part by the very important earlier victories of Cleon. The silence of Thucydides has caused Cleon to be greatly underrated as a restorer of empire.

Either on his way to Eion, or after establishing headquarters there, Cleon attempted to continue his work on the shores of the

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff, *Thucydides und sein Urkundenmaterial*, pp. 42 ff.; Meyer, *Geschichte des Allertums*, IV, pp. 410-411; West, *History of the Chalcidic League*, p. 65, note 10. Kirchhoff noted the fact that if the towns of Athos were in Spartan hands at the time of the Peace of Nicias it is strange that they were not listed by name with the Spartan clientele. Furthermore, Thyssus was loyal to Athens before its capture in the summer of 421 (Thuc. V, 35, 1), and there is no provision concerning it in the treaty, except in the general reference of Thuc. V, 18, 8: Σκιωναίων δὲ καὶ Τορωαίων καὶ Σερμηλιῶν καὶ εἰ τινα ἄλλων πόλιν ἔχουσιν Ἀθηναίοι. Ἀθηναίους βουλευέσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὅτι ἐν δοκῇ αὐτοῖς. This passage is entirely sufficient to provide for the towns of Athos if they were in Athenian hands at the time the treaty was made. If they were not then Athenian possessions, a lacuna must be assumed in the text of Thuc. V, 18, 5, to provide for their mention. The only alternative is the impossible assumption that the Athenians, during the negotiation of the treaty, were content to allow this group of towns to remain hostile to them.

<sup>2</sup> I.G. I, 37, frg. y; I.G. I, Suppl., pp. 140-141.

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. V, 35, 1. Unfortunately the manuscript of the text concerning Thyssus is corrupt. The codices have: τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους καὶ Θυσσῶν τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀθῶν Δικτηδῆς (this is the reading of B E F M; A reads Δικτηδῆς; C reads Δικτιδίης; G reads Δικτιδίης) εἰδὼν Ἀθηναίων οὖσαν ἐξέμαχον. Steup, *Thukydideische Studien*, p. 34, follows the suggestion of Meineke and reads ἐν τῇ Ἀθωλῇ Ἀκτῇ Διῆς as being nearer the Mss. tradition than the conjecture of Didot adopted in the Oxford text: ἐν τῇ Ἀθῶ Ἀκτῇ Διῆς. Poppo reads Χαλκιδῆς. If Didot's reading, or the suggestion of Meineke, is to be retained, then one Athenian ally is represented as fighting against another. Such a state of affairs was, of course, not impossible, but from *a priori* reasons one would not expect Thucydides to notice an intercity feud which affected in no way the relation of the parties concerned to the protagonists in the war. Or, if he did record the capture of one ally by another, one might reasonably expect him, brief though his reference be, to note the fact that both towns were Athenian allies. Steup, *op. cit.*, p. 34, has suggested that in this case the probable wording of the passage would have been: καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀθηναίων οὖσαν ἐξέμαχον instead of merely Ἀθηναίων οὖσαν ἐξέμαχον. He considers Ἀθηναίων οὖσαν ἐξέμαχον as an interpolation and adheres to Meineke's reading in the earlier part of the passage. But his argument amounts to throwing out an apparently sound and understandable part of the text on the evidence of a passage known in itself to be corrupt. There is no reason for discrediting the genuineness of the phrase: Ἀθηναίων οὖσαν ἐξέμαχον, and whoever the Δικτηδῆς of the manuscripts were, they were apparently hostile to Athens as well as to Thyssus. Poppo's conjecture Χαλκιδῆς follows this interpretation and has the merit of a certain amount of inherent historical probability. The capture of Thyssus took place in the summer of 421. It is known that the Chalcidians did not accept the peace concluded in the spring of that year, and we have elsewhere evidence of their military activity in the year following the ratification of the treaty. Their capture of Micyberna, for example, is related in Thuc. V, 39.

<sup>4</sup> Olophyxus is the only one of the cities mentioned by Thuc. IV, 109, of which we have no information.



Strymonic gulf.<sup>1</sup> In this he was probably more successful than Thucydides leads us to suppose, for the only event that the historian saw fit to record was Cleon's failure to take Stageira. Now Stageira is a place famous in history, but vicariously so as the birth-place of Aristotle. In 422 Aristotle was not born and this "polis" was an insignificant hamlet, whose total population of men, women, children, metics, and slaves, could not have numbered much more than 500 souls. It was, in fact, about as small a town as Athens thought fit to tax regularly in the Thracian district.<sup>2</sup> Cleon's forces probably outnumbered the whole population of Stageira three to one. Shall we consider Cleon's failure here as a test of his ability and of his service to the empire, or shall we rather consider it an exception, noteworthy on that account? Stageira had one other factitious claim to notoriety. It was still in open rebellion at the time of the Peace of Nicias, and it was for that reason mentioned by name in the treaty along with its more powerful neighbors. When we compare the list of six unsubdued cities mentioned in the treaty either with the long list of tributary states mentioned in the quota lists before the war or with the very fragmentary assessment list of 421, we see how successful Cleon was in delimiting the area of the revolt.

Although he failed at Stageira, largely because of the mountainous character of the country in which it is located,<sup>3</sup> he must have been more successful on the route which led from the Madeconian peninsula to Amphipolis, for the assessment list records Bormiscus, a town of strategic importance situated where Lake Bolbe enters the sea.<sup>4</sup> By occupying these places Cleon cut off, partially at least, the Chalcidic rebels from their brothers in Argilus and Amphipolis. Here too, Cleon was occupying territory previously held by the Athenians.<sup>5</sup>

But far more important for the income of the empire was the Pangaeian region into which Athens had made many attempts to penetrate. Thucydides tells us that Cleon stormed Galepsus, a town situated on the coast. This was a very petty victory, for Galepsus was another Stageira. But Thucydides passes over in silence the acquisition of Trailus, a city inland not far from the site of the later Philippi, whose assessment was six times that of its

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. V, 6.

<sup>2</sup> The regular tribute of Stageira was a thousand drachmae. No regularly enrolled city of the Thracian region paid less, although smaller sums are found in the appendices of some of the later lists. More frequently we find cities of the other districts paying less than 1,000 drachmae.

<sup>3</sup> Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, Vol. III, pp. 164 ff. Cf. also Kinch, *Erin-dringer fra Makedonien*. Tilskueren, 1891, p. 461.

<sup>4</sup> Thuc. IV, 103, 1. Possibly Posideion, if this town was located between Bormiscus and Argilos. Cf. Herodotus, VII, 115; Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, III, 2, 1009; Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> I, 75, line 28.

<sup>5</sup> See Meritt, *A Restoration in I.G. I, 37, A.J.A. XXIX*, pp. 26-28.



maritime neighbor. In this case, however, we cannot tell whether Cleon was restoring to the empire a city once tributary or extending the empire to include a city to which claims had been made in the assessment of 425/4.<sup>1</sup>

As further evidence for Cleon's activity in the interior, there are two short notices in Thucydides, one that the whole Edonian levy was on the side of Brasidas, a natural consequence of Cleon's determination to bring into the empire the mining region in which the Edonians lived, and the other that the Odomantes, inland neighbors of the Edonians, were on the side of the Athenians.<sup>2</sup>

No writer has troubled to give us any information as to events farther east on the Thracian coast, but the assessment list shows that while Cleon was active to the west of Abdera the empire toward the east was being reorganized and strengthened. Zone and Sale, unheard of since the expedition of Xerxes had passed through them, and Drys, a near neighbor, are found as autonomous tributaries for the first time in the assessment list of 421.<sup>3</sup> In the time of Xerxes, Samothrace had control of the mainland in this region, and Athens apparently allowed the island to continue in possession. But the Odrysian Empire, when it began to expand, was not so lenient, and the tribute of Samothrace sank from six talents first to four and then to two, probably because of the loss of its mainland possessions.<sup>4</sup> The same phenomenon occurred at other points in the Odrysian sphere of influence.<sup>5</sup> After the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War Athens was in no position to protest against these encroachments of the Odrysians, for she needed the support of the Odrysian king Sitacees, who, in turn, was well disposed toward Athens. After his death in 424, however, conditions were altered, for Seuthes, the successor of Sitacees, was an enemy of the Athenians. Consequently, it is not surprising that Athens should now attempt to get control of the coast from Abdera to Aenus. Between 424 and 421 there was no time so favorable to Athenian prestige as the first few weeks of Cleon's campaign, and we may credit him also with the restoration of the empire to the east of Abdera.<sup>6</sup>

If Cleon had lived to return, he could have pointed with pride,

<sup>1</sup> The name Trailus is probably to be restored in *I.G. I*, 37, frg. z. Cf. Meritt, *A Restoration in I.G. I*, 37, *A.J.A.* XXIX, pp. 26-28.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. V, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G. I*, Suppl., pp. 140-141; Herodotus, VII, 59; Stephanus of Byzantium, *s.v.*, Δρυς. Perdizet, *Rev. Et. Grec.* 1909, XXII, pp. 33 ff., in his discussion of the assessment of these cities, omits several factors of prime importance to a full understanding of the problem, the low Samothracian tribute of *I.G. I*, 240, 259, and probably 256, the growth of the Odrysian Empire, and its relations with Athens. Finally he dates in 425-4 the fragment on which are found the names of the Samothracian dependencies. The whole question merits further study.

<sup>4</sup> *I.G. I*, 237; *I.G. I*, 240; *I.G. I*, 259.

<sup>5</sup> The tribute of Aenus was reduced from ten talents to four between 440 and 436.

<sup>6</sup> The coöperation between Cleon and the Odomantes indicates an attempt to form an anti-Odrysian combination. Cf. Thuc. II, 101, where the Odomantes are afraid of the Odrysian power.

after the manner of more modern politicians, to his achievements since the people had chosen him to defend and restore the empire. The coast of Thrace from Aenus to Pallene had been reorganized, much of it reconquered, and Cleon was in a position, rightly or wrongly, to claim credit also for the cities added to the empire by means of the Bottic alliance. But Cleon died before Amphipolis in the early winter of 422. Political control passed to Nicias and the advocates of peace. The actual assessment of the new allies now fell to the lot of Cleon's opponents and it was probably completed during the year 421, when the cities concerned had had an opportunity of laying their case before the Athenian people.

The ratification of the Peace of Nicias and the attendant reorganization of the Athenian empire no doubt made advisable the general assessment of which the fragments we have had under discussion form a part. But the alliance with Perdiccas, the peace with Bottice, and the campaign of Cleon had already necessitated a readjustment of the Thracian tribute. It is only a coincidence that the Thracian reassessment came to form a part of the general reassessment of the whole empire. Cleon's victories made necessary the one, his death made possible the other.

There is one other slight bit of evidence for the date we have adopted. The Peace of Nicias itself indicates that Athens in the spring of 421 was considering the problem of what tribute to impose on her still rebellious subjects. Her decision, embodied in the treaty, to be content with the Aristidean tribute from the six rebellious cities,<sup>1</sup> required in equity, if not in logic, a reassessment in the Thracian region inspired with a spirit of gratitude toward subjects that had remained loyal or had returned of their own accord. Either Athens had already decided on this course when the treaty was drawn up, or she was to be brought face to face with the problem as soon as the treaty was known. It seems probable, however, that the question of a general assessment was under advisement when the treaty was made.

In conclusion, Cleon's attempt to regain popularity and prestige first led him to adopt a platform with regard to the empire quite at variance with his earlier schemes, one almost Periclean in its scope, and secondly, when action was required, it placed him in command of an expedition which according to Thucydides' narrative was an almost complete failure, but which in fact did more to restore Athenian prestige in Thrace than has been even suspected hitherto. Cleon's services to Athens are found recorded in two mutually corroborative documents, the Treaty of Nicias and the Assessment List of 421.

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BENJAMIN D. MERITT

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. V, 18, 5.

AN ATHLETE'S HEAD IN THE FOGG MUSEUM OF ART

PLATE II

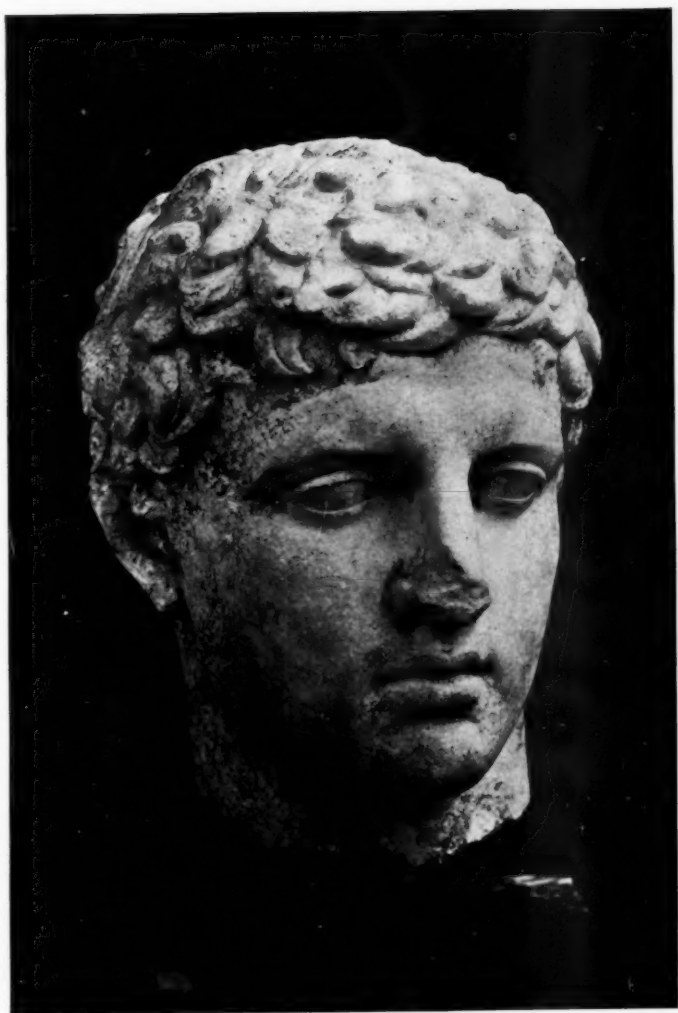
THE Fogg Museum of Harvard University has recently acquired, through the generosity of a private donor, a fine Parian marble head,<sup>1</sup> which now forms—together with the famous statue of Meleager—the chief attraction of the gallery of sculpture. It is in an excellent, though not perfect, state of preservation; the marble, which does not appear to have been overcleansed, retains much of its original whiteness and polish. The tip of the nose has suffered damage, and there are slight chippings to be discerned on the neck, the helix of both ears, the right upper eyelid, and the right temple. The head has been broken from off its statue or terminal bust about two inches below the line of the chin (PLATE II).

The delicate and careful moulding of the features of the face, the treatment of the hair, the absence of hard and mechanical workmanship, as well as of any manifestation of the operation of the running drill, preclude the possibility of the head's being a Roman copy. The technique is wholly that of a marble worker—an artist of no mean attainments. Furthermore, the likeness is not that of a youthful Hermes, or Apollo, or other Greek deity. We see merely the fresh and ingenuous countenance of a young Hellene, of ephebic age—18 to 20—and the portrait, if such it may be called, is so markedly idealized that individual characterization is almost entirely lacking. That the head belongs to an athlete is evident from the presence of thick and swollen ears, though the possession of this, to us, unsightly feature by no means necessarily indicates—as Gardiner, Hyde, and others have amply proved<sup>2</sup>—that the owner was a professional pugilist. On the other hand, from the great relative thickness of the neck, one may perhaps plausibly conjecture that the youth was a wrestler, inasmuch as the sport of wrestling, more than any other, tends to develop this part of the frame.

The face of the youth expresses a slight degree of lassitude. It is turned a very little towards the left. The eye is somewhat vacant, and seems to be regarding nothing in particular; but we must not, of course, overlook the possibility in the way of animation that

<sup>1</sup> *Fogg Art Museum Notes*, Vol. 1, 1921, pp. 6-8; George H. Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections*, 1924, p. 97, fig. 113. I wish to express my heartiest thanks to Director Edward W. Forbes and to Professors Paul J. Sachs and George H. Chase, of the Fogg Museum, for their very kind permission to publish this head.

<sup>2</sup> E. Norman Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, 1910, pp. 425-6; Walter Woodburn Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*, 1921, pp. 167-171.



HEAD OF AN ATHLETE  
FOGG MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE

PLATE II

BOSTON UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS  
1100

might be imparted to the features by the artist by the judicious use of pigment.

The skull and the bony framework of the face are unusually massive. The cephalic index of the head is approximately 77<sup>1</sup>—which would mark the type as mesaticephalic. The head form, however, is of the sort which is generally associated with the brachycephalic type, showing a flattened crown, and having the summit of the skull in a straight vertical line with the top of the ear. Although the skull



FIGURE 1. HEAD OF AN ATHLETE. FOGG MUSEUM

is decidedly well domed, it is not altogether of the so-called aristocratic type, which is portrayed so beautifully in the works of the school of Praxiteles.

The hair has met with a somewhat impressionistic treatment at the hands of the sculptor. To one viewing the head from the front, it appears to lie very solidly on the scalp in a form not unlike a wig. In general, it is arranged in very thick, solid clumps, which merge one into the other, each being very slightly grooved or ridged. A few small isolated locks lie scattered on the forehead and temples, as well as on the nape of the neck. Towards the crown of the head, longer and thinner strands of hair appear. The general effect of the whole is more pleasing from a side, rather than from a front, view. A curious feature of the back of the head is the deep circular groove which is

<sup>1</sup>The variation in the depth of the hair at different points, indeed the very fact of the presence of hair, of course renders accurate craniometry impossible.

cut into the heavy locks and extends almost from ear to ear. For this peculiarity, which is shared, to a greater or less degree, by a fair number of ancient statues,<sup>1</sup> it seems impossible satisfactorily to account (Fig. 1).

A relatively small portion of the brow is exposed. It possesses a well-defined frontal ridge with a very slight depression just above the nose. The eyebrows are sharply cut, as in fifth-century style, and the flesh beneath swells somewhat towards the outer corners of the eye-cavities. The upper eyelid is heavy and overlaps the lower at the outer extremity. The under eyelid has a very slight rim and is beautifully modelled—doubtless the most delicately executed feature of the face. The inner corners lie relatively deep, and the lachrymal canals are clearly indicated. The eyes themselves are decidedly long in proportion to their height, the relation being almost three to one, as in Praxitelean models; but the eye as a whole protrudes in a fashion that does not suggest fourth-century work. The distance between the inner corners of the eyes is slightly more than an eye length.<sup>2</sup>

The nose is shorter and stouter than the average and is depressed a very little at the root. It shows a slight flattening along the ridge, while the sides of the organ merge into the cheeks in a perfectly naturalistic fashion. A noteworthy feature is the very slight indication of the opening of the nostrils. The upper lip is short and heavily creased; both lips are full and sensuous, though moulded with much delicacy. The boring drill has been used at the extremities of the mouth. Chin, and cheeks are alike round, full, and smoothly modelled, but the sculptor has spent little time over the anatomical details of the juncture of the neck with the skin that covers the ramus of the jaw.

It is to be observed that the general harmony of the execution of the head as a whole is broken by the following small irregularities: the right ear is 3 mm. longer than the left; the eye-sockets are not on quite the same plane, and the right is cut in nearer to the medial line of the face than is the left; the right eye is 2 mm. longer than the left

<sup>1</sup> Notably, the *Hermes of Praxiteles*. It is difficult to dissociate the feature from some form of fillet-binding; but no solution of the problem yet put forward seems to apply to all cases.

<sup>2</sup> The following are the chief dimensions of the head, expressed in centimetres:

Circumference of head.....	66.9
Total height of marble.....	31.3
Height of head proper.....	25
Temple to temple.....	14
Chin to forehead hair.....	16.7
Length of mouth.....	5
Between eyes.....	3.5
Length of right ear.....	7
"    "    left    ".....	6.7
"    "    right eye.....	3.1
"    "    left    ".....	2.9



and 1 mm. less in height. There is also manifest a slightly different treatment of the upper lids at their inner angles. The ears, although correctly placed, are unusually small and very sketchily worked. The lobe adheres solidly to the head; the helix is very slightly indicated; and the whole is "cauliflowered" to such an extent that details are obscure.

The head of our athlete is obviously the work of a sculptor who possessed skill, good taste, and ability of a high order, but was not, withal, an artist of the first rank. It would be fruitless to conjecture who he was, but his date, or at least that of his production to which our attention is directed, may be determined with a fair degree of accuracy. It is manifest that the style of the fifth century is mirrored in the treatment of the face regarded as a unit, where little or no modelling is seen except in the eyes, nose, and mouth. It appears likewise in such matters of detail as the hard line of the eyebrows and the general fashioning of the eye-cavities. The treatment of the hair, while it recalls that seen on several of the figures portrayed on the frieze of the temple of Apollo at Bassae,<sup>1</sup> finds rather closer parallels on works of the early fourth century, and seems even to anticipate the impressionistic style employed so skilfully by Praxiteles. Furthermore, in some of the finer details of the eye, we see certain features which might perhaps suggest a blend of Praxitelean and Scopasian traits; but on a closer examination, we find that we have in the execution before us merely what might be termed an anticipatory hint of those principles of style afterwards developed to such an eminent degree by the great artists of the fourth century. In view of these considerations, as well as on the basis of many comparisons<sup>2</sup> which I have made of the head of the ephebe with approximately-dated sculptures, it would appear to me that one would not be far astray in placing its date at about B.C. 400.

The style of the Fogg Museum head shows but little affiliation with the school of Pheidias. To some of the heads of the statues produced by Polycleitus and his followers it bears at least a superficial resemblance—particularly to those that bear Attic characteristics. This is true especially in relation to the massiveness of the skull, and the heavy and almost weary expression of the face. But, on the other hand, we miss such elements as the broad Argive cheekbones, the platycephalic head, and the thin, though projecting, lips.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the closest parallels, compare the section of the frieze shown in Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., the head of the Discobolus in the Antiquarium at Rome, Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pls. 683-5; a head of Pan in the Villa Borghese, *ibid.* pl. 363; a statue in the Ny-Carlsberg Glyptotek at Copenhagen, *ibid.* pl. 597; cf. also Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs*, pls. XVII, LIX, LXXVIII, CII; Collignon, *Les Stat. Fun.*, 1911, fig. 69.

<sup>3</sup> The Fogg head may be compared with several others which are generally regarded as possessing a mingling of Polycleitan and Cresilean traits, such as the

The distinctive features of the head before us may be said to be: the finely-worked eye, with its heavy upper lid and clear indication of the lachrymal canals; the short, rather stout nose, with faintly marked nostrils; the fresh, pouting lips. The *tout ensemble* certainly suggests the art of Myron, more particularly the head of Perseus in the Antiquarium at Rome,<sup>1</sup> which is now almost universally regarded as a copy of the famous masterpiece of that artist. Despite, however, the very striking points of resemblance between the two heads, there are certain outstanding differences. The skull of the Perseus presents lines quite other than those of the Fogg head. The eyes of the former are much coarser—even if we make due allowance for their inferiority of treatment at the hands of the Roman copyist; the nose, though equally short, is narrow except across the alae of the nostrils; the face of the Perseus is longer and more tapering, and the treatment of the hair is altogether dissimilar. Nevertheless, it may well be that the head of the athlete represents but a later development of the tendencies which originated in the school that produced the hero.

The school founded by Myron was continued and enriched through the genius of his pupil Cresilas, of whom all too little is known, though his preëminence is attested by the fact that he is mentioned no fewer than three times by Pliny.<sup>2</sup> Fortunately, the identification and study of the several copies of his Pericles have afforded a reasonably firm pedestal, upon which has been grouped a goodly number of works which in all probability belong to this artist or his school. However, it is often very difficult to draw a hard and fast line of separation between works Myronian and Cresilean. The veteran scholar, Ernest Gardner, in an article published as recently as 1923,<sup>3</sup> wherein he seeks to take from Cresilas the authorship of the Medusa Rondanini and to restore it to Myron, is unable to find any specific arguments to support his contention. Even Furtwängler, after writing a lengthy analysis of the respective styles of Myron and Cresilas, is obliged to acknowledge: "Cresilas merely developed what Myron had begun."<sup>4</sup>

To the later and fully developed school of Myron, which we seem justified in calling the Cresilean, must the head of the athlete in the Fogg Museum be assigned. Its mannerisms are reflected, in a

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Nelson head, now in Boston, Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 544; the head of Pan in the Villa Borghese, *ibid.*, pl. 363; the head of a statue in the Ny-Carlsberg Glyptotek, *ibid.*, pl. 597: the skull-form and certain other features also recall a head found at the Argive Heraeum; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, pl. XXXI, 1 and 2.

<sup>1</sup> Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pls. 603, 604: the inferior copy in the British Museum has largely lost its Myronic character through the liberties taken by the copyist.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV, 53; 74; 76.

<sup>3</sup> E. A. Gardner, *J. H. S.*, XLIII, 1923, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> A. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, 1895, p. 170.

greater or lesser degree, in such works as: the busts of Pericles,<sup>1</sup> particularly the copy in the British Museum; the Diomede in Munich<sup>2</sup> and the replica of the head which is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts;<sup>3</sup> the so-called Alcibiades of the Vatican;<sup>4</sup> and the Petworth head<sup>5</sup> and its four replicas—all of which seem now to be generally regarded as copies of Cresilean originals. There is to be seen the slight turn of the head to the left that we have noted; the short, dimpled upper lip; the fullness of mouth; the absence of modelling where jaw and neck join; the small ear, placed somewhat obliquely; the locks of hair lying on the cheek.<sup>6</sup> Some of these points of similarity are most conspicuous even in the case of the head of Pericles, though here the comparison is between the features of a youth of from eighteen to twenty and a man of mature years. The similarity in respect to details is of course to be best observed by placing our head side by side with the magnificent replica of the Petworth head which is now in New York, although the athlete who served as the model for the latter was of an older and somewhat more refined and intellectual type than the youth represented in our head.

The various works which have been attributed to Cresilas show no great degree of uniformity as regards treatment of hair. The semi-impressionistic arrangement of locks which we noted in the Fogg head finds, among these, its closest parallel in the case of the Alcibiades of the Vatican, where the treatment, generally speaking, is the same; the Diomede, too, is not dissimilar in this respect.

We seem justified in the conclusion that the head in the Fogg Museum, while not a work of Cresilas himself, is almost certainly a product of some distinguished disciple of the great master, who flourished at the close of the fifth century—possibly, it seems worth while suggesting, a member of the school in the Argolid which he presumably established in his later years.<sup>7</sup> Our head, therefore, forms a somewhat important milestone in the course of artistic development which leads from Myron to Cresilas, and from Cresilas to Praxiteles and his successors.

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<sup>1</sup>For copy in Brit. Museum, see *B. M. Sculp.* I, no. 159; Vatican copy, Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 156.

<sup>2</sup>Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 128.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, pl. 543.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, pl. 129.

<sup>5</sup>*Leconfield Collection*, pl. 24; the best of the replicas is in the Metropolitan Museum, N. Y. See *Cat. Class. Coll.*, pp. 214-17, and p. 215, fig. 130; Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments*, pl. 15.

<sup>6</sup>The shallow cutting of the nostrils which we have noted in the Fogg head appears to be a characteristic of Cresilean works, in so far as I have been able to determine; but the point can hardly be pressed.

<sup>7</sup>This seems to be amply proved by the discovery of an inscribed basis bearing his name (Löwy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, 1885, no. 45) at Hermione. Furtwängler plausibly conjectures that Cresilas, being a foreigner, was compelled to leave Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (*Masterpieces*, p. 117).

### AN INSCRIBED HYDRIA IN AEGINA

IN the museum in the modern town of Aegina, locked up in a case in the "Sphinx Room," there is a bronze hydria-kalpis (Fig. 1) which has on its lip an important dedicatory inscription.<sup>1</sup>



FIGURE 1

The bronze hydria is well preserved with the exception of two small irregular holes with jagged edges, which have resulted from the corrosion of the bronze; one is on the shoulder and the other, the smaller hole, is on the neck of the vessel. The following are the dimensions of this hydria: height, 35.4 cm.; diameter of base, 13.3 cm.; diameter at shoulder, 29.3 cm. (including handles, 35 cm.); diameter of the rim, 13.4 cm.; width of lip, 1.5 cm.; height of letters, .8 cm. The hydria has two handles, and these are asymmetrically placed, one handle being two or three centimeters off the horizontal axis of the vessel.

The inscription on the upper surface of the lip reads:

.Πλάθων Έκεσθένης ἀνέθεν, υἱοὶ Προκλέους, ἡΕλλανίῳ Διί.

"Plathon (and) Ekesthenes, sons of Prokles, dedicated (me) to Zeus Hellanios."

The letters in the reproduction of my squeeze are so clear that an exact transcription seems unnecessary (Fig. 2). Suffice to give here the fourteen letters which appear in the inscription:

A, Δ, E (ε, η), H(h), Θ, I, K, Λ, N, O (ο, ου, ω), Π, P, Σ, V.

The words are divided by punctuation-marks of three dots, except that between the last two words only two dots are used. Apparently the engraver had inscribed the initial delta of the following

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Professor Ludwig Curtius of the University of Heidelberg for permission to examine the hydria and to publish the inscription, and also for information concerning the place of its discovery.

word before he bethought himself of the punctuation. On epigraphical grounds, I should date this inscription in the period between 480 and 460 B.C. (The dedication was doubtless made before the Athenian conquest of the island in 457 B.C.)

This dedicatory inscription is important because it helps to identify the site and remains of the temple of Zeus Hellanios.<sup>1</sup> At the foot of the north slope of the Oros, the conical peak in the southern part of the island of Aegina, are the remains of an ancient temple.



FIGURE 2

The church of *Hagios Asomatos* is built in part of ancient blocks and stands upon these foundations. In 1905 Furtwängler and his associates excavated this hieron, which he identified as that of Zeus Hellanios.<sup>2</sup> (In the time of Pausanias, it was known as the hieron of Zeus Panhellenios.)<sup>3</sup>

The inscribed hydria was not found at this site, but was discovered in 1906 by Professor Ludwig Curtius in a "*merkwürdigen Wasserbasin*" several minutes' walk from this hieron. I believe that a *pegadi* which I have visited on the east slope of the Oros is

<sup>1</sup> For the cult and hieron of Zeus Hellanios in Aegina, v. the author's *Prehistoric Aegina*, chap. IV, sec. 5 (to appear this Spring).

<sup>2</sup> Furtwängler, *Aegina; das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, pp. 5 and 473-4 (brief mention). A report of this excavation will appear in a future volume.

<sup>3</sup> Paus., II, 30, 3-4.

the place where this hydria was found. Doubtless it had been carried hither from the hieron of Zeus Hellanios to whom it had been dedicated. It was found in some débris made up for the most part of "Megarian" pottery. Perhaps it had been concealed there. At any rate, because of its provenance, the inscription on this bronze hydria confirms the identification of the hieron on the north slope of the Oros as the hieron of Zeus Hellanios,—an identification which had been made on the basis of traditions and a stamped roof-tile.

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## THE JANUS SHRINE OF THE FORUM

AUTHORITIES ancient and modern stand in general agreement, that the famous little shrine of Janus, whose doors were open in time of war and closed when Rome was at peace, lay in the Roman Forum at the point where it was entered by the street known as the Argiletum, and close to the boundary of the Comitium.<sup>1</sup> There is even more substantial agreement regarding its form.<sup>2</sup> It was not a true *aedes*, but a double gateway, Janus Geminus or *geminæ portæ*, connected by side-walls which were surmounted by a grating and entablature, but without a roof, the whole structure being rectangular or cubical. The following words of Martial indicate that even in the Empire and in spite of the statue which then stood in the centre of the edifice it was an open passageway through which throngs of pedestrians could pass:

"Pervius exiguos habitabas ante penates  
Plurima qua medium Roma terebat iter."<sup>3</sup>

As the double Janus was of remote antiquity, the street which it spanned could in the beginning have hardly been other than the Sacra Via, or its extension, that is the part passing through the Forum, the Comitium, and up the Capitoline Hill to its northern summit, the Arx. Richter<sup>4</sup> and Platner<sup>5</sup> consider the branch of the Clivus Capitolinus which led to the Arx to have been earlier and at first more important than the famous branch leading to the Capitolium and temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which Platner<sup>6</sup> states was made into a carriage-road at the end of the regal period. There is good evidence that their conclusion is correct and that the Arx was originally more important than the Capitolium, for the Optimus Maximus temple dates only from the close of the monarchy, and it was on the Arx not only that the augurs were accustomed to interpret the will of Jupiter<sup>7</sup> and sacrifice with secret rites,<sup>8</sup> but, if

<sup>1</sup> Livy I, 19; Ovid, *Fasti* I, 258 (cf. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* I, p. 348); Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 9; Dio LXXIII, 13; Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* V, 25; Jordan, *op. cit.* I, pp. 345-51; Huelsen-Carter, *The Roman Forum*, ed. 1909, pp. 5 and 12; Platner, *Topography*, p. 191; Iwan von Müller, *Hdbk. der Klass. Alt. Wissensch.*, volume on *Topographie der Stadt Rom* by O. Richter, München, 1901, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Vergil, *Aen.* I, 295; VII, 607; Ovid, *Fasti* I, 257; Plut., *Numa*, 20; Martial X, 28, 3 ff.; Cohen, *Méd. Imp. Romaines*,<sup>3</sup> I, p. 289, No. 141 ff.; Jordan, *op. cit.* I, 351-352; Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* II, pp. 16-17. Iwan von Müller, *Hdbk. der Klass. Alt. Wissensch.* volume on *Religion und Kultus der Römer* by Georg Wissowa, München 1912, pp. 104-105; Binder, *Die Plebs*, p. 68; Richter, *op. cit.* in Iwan von Müller's *Hdbk.*

<sup>3</sup> X, 28, 3-4.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 294-295.

<sup>6</sup> Platner, *op. cit.* p. 294.

<sup>7</sup> Livy I, 18, 6-10; Varro, *Ling. Lat.* V, 47.

<sup>8</sup> Paulus Diaconus, ed. Müller, p. 16 (under *Arcani*).



the conclusion reached in my doctoral thesis be correct, it was here that sacrifice to Jupiter was offered from remote antiquity on the Ides,<sup>1</sup> and, as Varro and Festus tell us, the victim of this sacrifice was led in solemn procession along the Sacra Via to the Arx.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the southwestern section of the area of the Forum was originally a swamp from which the ground sloped upward on the north, east, and west,<sup>3</sup> another reason which renders it improbable that, in the early days before the valley was drained by the Cloaca Maxima, the extension of the Sacra Via could have made the bend to the south with which we are familiar from its present course. Topographers actually have accepted changes in the course of this street and of the Argiletum during historical times.<sup>4</sup>

Now, as shown in my paper, *The City of the Early Kings*, read before the meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States last May,<sup>5</sup> I hold with Binder and earlier topographers, that the city of the four regions was an outgrowth of the union of two distinct communities, the Septimontium and the Quirinal settlement (of which the Capitoline Hill formed a part), lying on either side of the Forum valley and communicating with each other by the Sacra Via, which, as Binder,<sup>6</sup> Gilbert,<sup>7</sup> and Schneider<sup>8</sup> have pointed out, was not a city-street, *vicus*, but the earliest of Roman roads outside the city, such as the later Via Appia.

Binder then argues,<sup>9</sup> from Niebuhr's original theory, that the walls of the two settlements became extended into the valley, and, when the union took place, were joined by a double gate, Janus Geminus, spanning the Sacra Via, of a type still to be seen at Volaterrae. The form of the Janus Geminus shrine of historical times, Binder believes to have closely preserved that of this prehistoric gateway, of which he considers it the symbolical memorial.

It seems, however, very unlikely that two cities would have erected walls almost contiguous, prior to uniting their governments, when tradition represented them as originally hostile; still more unlikely that they would have built walls after uniting. Therefore, while accepting Binder's view regarding the significance of the Sacra Via and the origin of the four region city in the two communities between which it ran, I cannot accept his conclusion respecting the Janus Geminus of the Forum.

The real solution for the double nature of this gateway is to be

<sup>1</sup> *The Sacra Idulia in Ovid's Fasti*, University of Pennsylvania, 1917, pp. 9-31.

<sup>2</sup> Varro, *Ling. Lat.* V, 47; Festus, ed. Müller, p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> Van Deman, *J.R.S.* XII, p. 3 ff.; Binder, *Die Plebs*, p. 53 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Van Deman, *op. cit.*, p. 16; *A.J.A.* XXVII, p. 393; Ashby, *Cl. R.*, XV, p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> To be printed in *The Cl. Weekly*.

<sup>6</sup> *Die Plebs*, p. 62.

<sup>7</sup> *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom*, I, p. 215.

<sup>8</sup> *Röm. Mitt.* X, p. 162, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Die Plebs*, pp. 67-68; Niebuhr, *Röm. Geschichte*, I, p. 239.

sought in another direction, though finding its remote origin in the duality of the community after the union of the two peoples. Legend records that Numa moved his *regia* or royal dwelling from the Quirinal to the spot afterward occupied by the historical Regia, Atrium Vestae and Aedes Vestae on the Sacra Via where it entered the Forum,<sup>1</sup> all three of which were originally one building according to Miss Van Deman<sup>2</sup> and are recognized as having been the house of the king.<sup>3</sup> This position of the royal residence between the newly united communities, may be compared with the founding of Washington midway between the northern and southern states of our own union.

Now I am convinced that the early Romans, even after the development of the city of the four regions, dwelt in farm villas which were walled, and that Dr. Norman De Witt<sup>4</sup> is correct in holding that the Forum was the courtyard of the king's villa. The southwestern section, it is true, must have been largely marsh, perhaps not unacceptable to the fowls and pigs of the barnyard, until drained by the Etruscan dynasty; but through the higher ground of this court, on the northeast, must have run the Sacra Via, uniting the two groups of the king's subjects through the courtyard of their monarch and enabling the king to pass directly from his dwelling and the royal hearthside into the Comitium, where the senate and assembly met and public business was transacted. At the point where the Sacra Via must have entered the Comitium stood the Janus Geminus in historical times. I agree with Professor De Witt in seeing in this Janus the original gateway to the king's court. But why was it double or *geminus*? Because, if the Sacra Via ran through the court, or Forum, it was necessary to have a *ianus*, or gate, not only at the point where the road passed out of the Forum and into the Comitium, but also where it entered the Forum in front of the Regia.

Hence the *ianus* of the king's court, alone of all *iani*, was *geminus* or double. After the abolition of the monarchy, when the Forum became merely the market-place of the city and ceased to have walls, and when the Vesta of the king was perpetuated on its site by the Regia as a symbolical hearth of Rome, the Janus Geminus was also perpetuated in the symbolical little edifice which existed throughout Roman history. The form of this famous shrine must, therefore, have been nothing more or less than a symbolical preservation of the double-gated courtyard of the king.

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<sup>1</sup> Solinus I, 21; Ovid, *Fasti* VI, 263-4, Plut., *Numa*, 14.

<sup>2</sup> *The Atrium Vestae*, Washington, D. C., the Carnegie Institution, 1909, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Solinus, *loc. cit.*; Plut., *loc. cit.*; Ovid, *loc. cit.*; Festus, p. 279, ed. Müller; Wissowa, *op. cit.* p. 502; Jordan, *op. cit.* I, pp. 423-429; Wright, *op. cit.* pp. 18-19.

<sup>4</sup> The Origin of the Roman Forum, *Cl. J.* XIV, p. 433 ff.

#### NOTE ON A SARCOPHAGUS AT CORINTH

SINCE the publication of this sarcophagus,<sup>1</sup> two fragments, forming the head of the first warrior at the left, have been found by Mr. F. P. Johnson.<sup>2</sup> The larger piece (Fig. 1), which was discovered first, contains the eye, forehead, and hair of the figure and portions of the background. The smaller one forms the top of the head (Fig. 2), which is encircled by a wreath of bay or laurel leaves. These fragments show that the figure's gaze was directed toward his comrades at the right, and not outward, as I had thought possible.<sup>3</sup>



FIGURE 1



FIGURE 2

This correction, however, does not affect the conjectural identification of this warrior with the seer, Amphiaraus.<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, the head tends to confirm the interpretation, because of the wreath worn by the figure (clearly visible in Fig. 1).

Amphiaraus was more famous as a soothsayer, or *μάντις*, than as a warrior. Although we have no evidence that the Greek seer wore a special costume, we do know that he belonged to the priestly class and that priests generally wore garlands on their heads. That

<sup>1</sup> A Sarcophagus at Corinth, *A.J.A.* XXVI, pp. 430 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I wish to acknowledge the kindness of Mr. Johnson in notifying me of his discoveries and supplying me with photographs of the fragments.

<sup>3</sup> A Sarcophagus at Corinth, *A.J.A.* XXVI, p. 435. (I wish to take this opportunity of correcting an error in note 1 on this page—for *left wrist* read *right wrist*.)

<sup>4</sup> A Sarcophagus at Corinth, *A.J.A.* XXVI, p. 438.

the first warrior wears a short cloak and not the long robes of a priest is sufficiently explained by the fact that he is here portrayed as a soldier. At the same time the sculptor may have given him the wreath in order to distinguish him from the other warriors, an hypothesis which can be proven only if the other heads are found.

I feel, therefore, that the discovery of these fragments has strengthened the identification of the first warrior with the seer, Amphiaraus.

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GENERAL MEETING OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

DECEMBER 29-31, 1924

THE Archaeological Institute of America held its twenty-sixth meeting for the reading and discussion of papers at the University of Chicago December 29, 30 and 31, 1924, in conjunction with the American Philological Association, and the College Art Association. There were three sessions for the reading of papers, and one joint session with the College Art Association. The abstracts of the papers which follow were furnished by the authors.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29. 2.30 P.M.

1. A HEAD OF AN EPHEBE IN THE FOGG MUSEUM OF  
ART

*A. D. Fraser*, Westminster College

This paper is published in this number of the JOURNAL.

2. REPUBLICAN OSTIA

*Helen Pence*, Vassar College

3. THE JANUS SHRINE OF THE FORUM

*Horace W. Wright*, Lehigh University

This paper is published in this number of the JOURNAL.

4. APHRODITE WORSHIP ON A MINOAN GEM

*Kate McK. Elderkin*, Princeton, N. J.

This paper is published in this number of the JOURNAL.

5. A LOST CARTOON FOR THE ST. ANNE MADONNA OF  
LEONARDO DA VINCI

*John Shapley*, New York University

It has generally been held that Leonardo da Vinci worked out two distinct compositions for the St. Anne Madonna, one represented by the Royal Academy cartoon, the other by the Louvre picture. The description of the cartoon exhibited by Leonardo in Florence in 1501 has been assimilated to the Louvre composition. On closer examination it develops that the literary sources are against this. Both the description of Nuvolaria and the poem of Casio point to a composition unlike that of the Louvre picture but like that preserved in a drawing of the Venice Academy. There were thus three distinct versions of the St. Anne Madonna, not two as has heretofore been believed.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30. 9.30 A.M.

## 1. STYLE OF ILLUMINATION OF MT. ST. MICHEL IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY GLASS OF LE MANS

A. M. Friend, Jr., Princeton University

When the glass-makers of the middle ages were called upon to represent the human figure and episodic scenes in their windows they found they had no tradition for such portrayal. Their art was fundamentally decorative, not representational. Therefore they had recourse to the pictures and drawings in illuminated Mss. At times the resemblances are so close that the school of Ms. illumination used can be made out. This is particularly the case in some of the 12th century glass in Le Mans Cathedral which shows startling similarities to the illustration in Mss. belonging to the school of Mt. St. Michel. Clement Heaton in the *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, July, 1916, has already called attention to the connection between the figures of the Apostles in the famous Ascension window of Le Mans and those in the Cartulary of Mt. St. Michel, now Ms. 210 in the library at Avranches. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate more completely the relation between the glass artists of Le Mans and the miniaturists of the Mount. One characteristic of the pictures in the Mss. from Mt. St. Michel is the excessively wide spread of the knees of the seated figures. This same exaggeration shows up in a panel of the window next to that of the Ascension. The panel represents four seated apostles one of whom, behind St. Paul, has his knees so wide spread that they appear on either side of the saint. The Gallican Missal from Yates Thompson's collection, now in the Morgan Library, which was illuminated on Mt. St. Michel c. 1100 shows the same ridiculous knees in the miniature of the Pentecost. The picture of the Ascension in the same Ms. shows the same woolly hair on St. Paul that he possesses in the glass panel mentioned above. More convincing still is the absolute similarity between the heads of St. Ambrose and his followers in the topmost panel of the end window in the north aisle and those of the ecclesiastics on f. 23 v. of the Cartulary of the Mount. Even the smallest details of drawing the eyes, nose and beard are reproduced. The closest analogies with the glass are the miniatures in the Cartulary which dates from the time of Robert de Torigny, that is after 1154. In 1134 a fire destroyed a large part of the cathedral. Between these years was the period of prosperity for Le Mans when it was the capital of the Angevin realm and the chief city of Geoffrey Plantagenet and his wife Mathilda. In the struggle with Stephan of England the monks of the Mount espoused the cause of Mathilda. More important still for their connection with Le Mans is the fact that one of their chief possessions was the Priory of St. Victeur in that city. The relations between the mother abbey and the Priory were always naturally close culminating in the complete rebuilding of St. Victeur by the abbot of Mt. St. Michel after the fire of 1170. Thus the connections between the Mount and Le Mans are political and ecclesiastical as well as artistic.

## 2. RECENT DISCOVERIES AT SOLUTRÉ, FRANCE

Mrs. George Grant MacCurdy, New Haven, Conn.

During the summer of 1924 the American School of Prehistoric Research in Europe carried on excavations at the classic station of Solutré near Macon (Saône-et-Loire) at the invitation of Professor Depéret and Drs. Mayet and Arcelin of Lyons. Solutré has three relic-bearing horizons of Upper Paleolithic age: Aurignacian, Solutrean, and Magdalenian. The site, which comprises some 2.5 acres, was discovered in 1867 and has been excavated intermittently since that time. A number of human skeletons have been found there—perhaps the most important

being the three of Aurignacian age discovered by Depéret, Mayet, and Arcelin during the summer of 1923.

The spot set aside for the American School was the highest portion of the area covered by the station. It adjoined a trench sunk by the Abbé Breuil and Dr. Arcelin eighteen years ago, where they found cultural remains including an example of cave art but no human skeletal remains. The School was especially fortunate in finding a human skeleton the first day, and before the end of a week had encountered five others. It is too early to establish definitely the age of the various skeletons. Solutré is admirably adapted by nature for a prehistoric camp site and place of burial; it is high and dry with a spring nearby and protected on the north by the towering rock of Solutré. The Aurignacians were the first to leave their dead here; later races did likewise. The problem is to decide which are the intrusive burials.

The skeletons uncovered by the School were all near the surface, the deepest being not much over two feet; but depth alone is no criterion of age. The spot where the skeletons were found has been subject to erosion for thousands of years. On the contrary, the adjoining depression in which the three skeletons were found in 1923 has been subject to fill for a like period of time; this fact would easily account for the additional depth of four feet at which they were found.

The first skeleton (that of a female) found by the School was a burial similar in every detail to the Aurignacian burials discovered last year. It lay full-length, resting on the back, with a flagstone set up at each side of the head. Some red ochre was found near the right hand. Bones of the horse and reindeer were picked up in fairly close association with the skeleton. At the same level, but somewhat removed from the skeleton, Paleolithic flints were found. There was nothing to suggest an intrusive burial; however, only after detailed studies have been made can one say definitely whether or not this is a Cro-Magnon skeleton.

The other five skeletons are apparently of later date; in fact three of them certainly are. None of them had flagstones at the head. The second skeleton found is that of an old man. Bones of the horse, reindeer, etc., were found in fairly close contact with it, also a flint chip but no finished implements. The skeleton is practically intact and is particularly interesting on account of the pathological condition at the upper (proximal) end of the left fibula. Accident or disease had carried away the upper end, and the shaft of the fibula had fused with that of the tibia some four centimeters below what would have been the normal epiphysial contact.

Find number three was a fragmentary cranium only; a Solutrean laurel-leaf flint point was found with it. Skeleton number four is an adult female and with it were the bones of a young child. A bronze earring was picked up near this skeleton by one of the workmen; the skeleton probably dates from the Bronze Age. Skeleton number five is that of a very old man of small size; with it was found a fragment of sheet bronze. The last skeleton found is that of a child some six years old. In uncovering this skeleton a bronze buckle was found near the head of the left femur. Judging from the style and workmanship of this buckle, the burial probably dates from about 300 to 400 A.D.

### 3. THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI EXCAVATIONS AT NEMEA

*J. Penrose Harland, University of Cincinnati*

This was only a preliminary report. The full report by Carl W. Blegen of the American School at Athens will appear in the March number of *Art and Archaeology*.



## 4. THE LYDIAN BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION

George W. Elderkin, Princeton University

## THE TRANSLITERATED TEXT

1. . . . islū bakillū est mrud ešš vānāš
2. laprisak pelak kudkit ist esū vānāū
3. būtarvod akad manelid kumlilid silukalid akit nāpis
4. esū mruu buk esū vānāū buk ešāc
5. lapirisac bukit kud ist esu vānāū būtarvod
6. aktin nāpis pelūk fēnsūfīd fakmū artimus
7. ibšimsis artimuk kulumsis aaraū biraūk
8. kūidaū kofuūk piraū pelūk bilū vqbpēnt

## THE REVISED TRANSLATION

. . . in the month of Bacchus. This stele and this cave and the stone coffins and everything—whatever is dedicated in this cave—is the property of Mane, the son of Kumli, the son of Siluka. If any one destroys this stele or this tomb or these stone coffins or if (he destroys) what is dedicated in this cave—if any one destroys anything at all then may Artemis of Ephesus and Artemis of Coloë deprive (him) of court and house, land and spring and everything (that is) his.

## COMMENTARY

Although scholars have been quick to point out certain resemblances of Lydian to Latin and Greek they have naturally hesitated to draw the conclusion that Lydian is an Indo-European tongue. These resemblances, however, acquire added significance from the close relation of Lydian and Greek cult. It is remarkable that the sepulchral curse-inscriptions of Sardis invoke not an Artemis of Sardis but Artemis of Ephesus to punish desecrators. The Lydian version of the bilingual calls first upon the Artemis of Ephesus, as if the more important, and then upon the Artemis of Coloë. To no other deity is appeal made in this inscription. The Lydian monarch Croesus had recorded his devotion to the same Artemis of the Ephesians by dedicating a column of her temple and inscribing his name upon it. With the name of Artemis there is found in another inscription a name recognized as that of Apollo. Again it will be recalled that Croesus showed very great reverence for the Apollo of Delphi whom he said he honored more than any other deity. This was not a newly developed interest in the god because Gyges had sent gifts to the oracular shrine which confirmed him in possession of the Lydian kingdom. The Lydian worship of the Ephesian Artemis and her brother was clearly long established when the inscriptions were carved and this fact suggests, although it does not prove, that the Lydians were the kin of the Greeks and not merely neighbors.

Other Lydian gods are mentioned in the Lydian inscriptions. *Lametrus* may be the Greek Demeter. If the two names are identical then the Lydian *l* could represent the Greek *δ* just as *l* does in the pair *lacrima* and *δάκρυον*. The worship of Dionysus under the name Bacchus is evident from the Lydian *kavek Bakillis*, "priest of Bacchus." Still more significant is the name "Bacchus" for the Lydian month corresponding to October-November. These names but deepen the impression of a close religious tie between the Lydians and the Greeks and justify an examination of Lydian vocabulary with special reference to Greek and Latin.

*Line 2.* Littmann questions his own translation of *laprisak* "funerary couches." The word is probably a compound. A fuller form *lapirisa* occurs in line 5 and seems to be composed of *lapi* and *risa*. The first component *lapi* suggests the Latin word *lapis* "stone" while the second component is perhaps akin to Greek *θλαστος* "chest, sarcophagus." *Lapirisa* would then designate those stone coffins

which were actually found in the tombs at Sardis. Professor Butler (Sardis, I, *The Excavations*, p. 116) records the discovery of three stone sarcophagi in one tomb at Sardis. The order of the objects mentioned in the inscription is the order in which they were approached. First is the stele which stood at one end of the lowest step before the tomb. Next is the tomb. The third item comprises the sarcophagi which were the most important contents of the tomb, and the fourth item comprises the dedications within the tomb. Some idea as to these dedications is perhaps to be gathered from another of the Lydian curse-inscriptions which invokes a penalty upon any one who destroys *fakatac ebad . . . ra bistaac tapalaac* which may represent Latin *secatas aut . . . pictas tabulas* "carved or . . . painted tablets." The Etruscans placed painted terra-cotta tablets in tombs.

*Line 3.* The resemblance of *kudkit ist* to *quidquid est* has been regarded as mere coincidence. It is rather highly significant: *kudkit* is a relative pronoun in the neuter singular referring to *pelak* which the Aramaic shows must mean "and everything"; *pelak* is a reduction from \**peladk* just as *mruk* is a reduction from \**mrudk*. Both have the enclitic *k* "and" which is at once compared with the Latin *que*. The Lydian verb in the clause is *ist* which is the Latin *est*. The next words *esũ vānaũ* mean "in this tomb." The last word of the relative clause is *bũtarvod* in agreement with *kudkit* and its antecedent *pelak* (\**peladk*). *Bũtarvod* is a participial adjective and probably the same word as Latin *votivum* for \**votivoom*. Other examples of such reduction are given elsewhere by the writer (*Kantharos* p. 165). The Lydian neuter of the adjective seems to have had the ending *d* like the Latin neuters *aliud*, *illud* and *istud*. The Lydian *bũtarvod* is very near to \**votivod*. The correspondence of the initial *b* with *v* recalls the Cretan pronunciation of  $\beta$  as digamma.

Littmann transliterates the word *bũtarvod* with  $\tilde{u}$  in the first syllable. Buckler in his very careful edition of the Lydian inscriptions substitutes the Greek  $\lambda$  for the  $\tilde{u}$  because in the Lydian version of the name Alexander, the *l* is represented by the sign  $\Upsilon$  which is the second letter also of *bũtarvod*. This change of *l* to *u* in Lydian was also a feature of the Cretan dialect. Hesychius gives several examples. The Attic word  $\lambda\sigma\sigma\sigma$  appears in Cretan as  $\alpha\lambda\sigma\sigma$ ;  $\lambda\mu\alpha$  appears as  $\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha$ . Thus Lydian and Cretan could both represent a Greek  $\lambda$  as *u* and both apparently could pronounce a *b* as digamma. It may be that a close linguistic connection existed at an early period between Lydian and Cretan.

*Line 3. Silukalid.* For a Greek inscription from Salihieh dated A.D. 175 and giving the names of son, father and a grandfather Seleucus, see *Syria*, IV (1923), p. 221.

*Line 4. buk, "or."* If Lydian *b* represents the Latin *v*, then *buk* represents a form \**vuk* and is possibly composed of *ve* and the enclitic *k*. Lydian also has the negatives *nik . . . nik* which Littmann translated "neither . . . nor." They look very much like the Latin *nec . . . nec*. The enclitic *k* may have passed from the Lydian negative pair *nik . . . nik* to the positive *buk . . . buk*.

*Line 5. kud ist* takes the place of *kudkit ist*. *Kud* is here apparently the Latin *quod*.

*Line 6. f̄nsũbid* may be the same verb as Latin *findere* "to cleave." Torrey notes that the corresponding verb in the Aramaic version means "to break in pieces."

*Line 7. biraũk* is translated by an Aramaic word for "house." The *k* is enclitic. This word has been compared with the Hittite *bira*, "house" which Sayce thinks the Hittites borrowed. The same word for "house" hitherto unnoticed in this connection is the Messapian  $\beta\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma$ . Can this word be Semitic in origin?

The last line of the Lydian inscription contains the word *kofuũk* which with the enclitic means "and soil." *kofu* may be compared with Greek  $\gamma\alpha\iota\alpha$  (\**γαια*) and Gothic *gavi*.

The similarity of several words in a single inscription of eight lines to Latin and Greek words tends to confirm the conclusion drawn from the devotion of the Lydians to Artemis, Apollo and Bacchus that the connections with the West are due ultimately to community of race.

# 5. THE LARES AUGUSTI

*Lily Ross Taylor, Vassar College*

This paper will be published in a later number of the JOURNAL under the title of the "Mother of the Lares."

# 6. CUICUL

*Franklin P. Johnson, University of Illinois*

Cuicul was founded at about the end of the first century after Christ. The site, situated 125 kilometers west of Constantine, in eastern Algeria, has been excavated by French archaeologists since 1909. With the exception of Timgad, no other Roman town in north Africa is so well preserved. Most of the remains belong to the third century; they include a theater, two forums, two temples, a market, a triumphal arch, private houses, etc. Later constructions, including a Christian basilica and a baptistery, occupy an area separate from the old town, though adjoining it. A number of views were shown, illustrating the site as it was in December, 1923.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30. 2.30 P.M.

# 1. THE ROMANO-BRITISH COLLECTION IN THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

*Cornelia G. Harcum, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology*

This paper will be published in a later number of the JOURNAL.

# 2. NICOSTHENES—HIS ACTIVITIES AND AFFILIATIONS

*Stephen B. Luce, Brown University*

This paper is published in this number of the JOURNAL.

# 3. PROBLEMS OF ARCHITECTURAL RECONSTRUCTIONS AT PISIDIAN ANTIOCH

*Frederick J. Woodbridge, University of Michigan*

# 4. THE STYLE OF THE UTRECHT PSALTER

*W. Frederick Stohlman, Princeton University*

The Utrecht Psalter has always interested students of illuminated manuscripts because of its unique style. The figures are drawn in line, by the pen, and give the impression of a hasty sketch. The stroke of the pen is short and broken suggesting the form rather than outlining it. There is no contour, for the stroke follows not the outline but is drawn in the direction of the light. This method produces a drawing in terms of shadow and where the light falls there is no line. The result is the broken, nervous style of the Utrecht Psalter. This style is a direct translation into line of the impressionistic style of Hellenistic-Roman painting. Examples of this style are many but the best for purposes of comparison is the small

frieze in the House of the Vetii in Pompeii. That this impressionistic style died out in the West by the fourth century is evidenced by the illustrations of the First Vatican Vergil. The complete decay is seen in the Second Vatican Vergil. The decay was in the direction of a hard closed contour. In the East the same change takes place. This can be traced through the Vienna Genesis and the Rossano Gospels.

This forces us to the conclusion that the scribes of the Utrecht Psalter had before them a psalter of impressionistic style done not later than the fourth century. A conclusion so important and so revolutionary demands checking by every means at our command. This has not as yet been completed and the purpose of the paper is to invite suggestion and criticism. There are two lines of investigation that will serve as checks, one is iconographic, the other textual. In iconography the problem is being attacked in the following way. Each scene in the Utrecht Psalter is studied to see if that scene occurred in the monuments of the fourth century. Up to the present we have reached no definite conclusions. With the texts this method has been followed. There are three versions of the psalter, the Alexandrian Greek text, the versions of the Latin Psalter by Jerome and the Old-Latin pre-Jerome versions. The object of the investigation is to find which one of these versions inspired the illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter. The work on the text is being carried on by Mr. Kraeling of the Lutheran Seminary at Philadelphia, the other by Mr. A. M. Friend and the writer.

## 5. THE KEY-STONE OF VÉZELAY

A. Kingsley Porter, Harvard University

The discussion regarding the chronology of the sculpture of Modena, Cremona and Pontida in Lombardy has been closed in favour of the early dating. The discovery of the Bari throne, dated 1098 by peremptory evidence, Professor Loomis' observation that the armour of the Porta della Pescheria is of a type not used after 1109, and the coming to light of related monuments in Spain definitely dated early in the twelfth century, make it certain that the Lombard sculptures were executed early in the twelfth century, as the documents indicate, not about the middle or end of the century, as certain archaeologists had supposed. Now the same discrepancy between the dates indicated by the documents, and those accepted by archaeology exists also in other parts of Europe. This is notably the case for Burgundy. A new proof that the early dating is correct here too has recently come to my notice. It is the sculptured key stone of Vézelay. This represents the church of Vézelay, holding in her hand a model of the unfinished basilica. About is the inscription: *Sum modo fumosa, sed ero post haec speciosa*. This can only refer to the fire which ravaged the monastery of Vézelay in 1120. The keystone is therefore a peremptorily dated monument.

This keystone demolishes the two gratuitous hypotheses that have been advanced by the apologists for the late dating, who have wished to set aside the documentary evidence that the extant Romanesque portions of the church were erected between 1104 and 1132. The first of these hypotheses is that the church was completely destroyed by the fire of 1120. The keystone states categorically that the church was damaged by smoke, but would be repaired. The second hypothesis is that the capitals of Vézelay were carved after being placed in position. Such procedure would be contrary to Romanesque practice; and the keystone definitely shows that at Vézelay it was not followed. A comparison of the style of the keystone with that of the capitals of the western portions of the nave and of the narthex makes it clear that the style, while not precisely the same, is surely contemporary. These capitals must consequently have been carved immediately after the fire, between 1120 and 1132, just as the documents indicate. On the

other hand, certain capitals of the eastern part of the nave of Vézelay show a style distinctly more archaic than that of the keystone; that is a clear indication that they were carved between 1104 and 1120, again as the documents indicate.

There are many reasons for believing that the capitals of the nave of Vézelay were strongly influenced by those of the ambulatory of Cluny, erected 1087-1095. That the two are related is obvious; and that Vézelay is derivative is proved by the fact that certain features of Cluny reproduced are misunderstood. Now it seems probable that knowledge of the Cluniac types may have been brought to Vézelay by the master of the Daniel capital. He also worked at Cluny, for his hand is found on the capital of the Sacrifice of Abraham, probably from the nave, and if so, executed 1095-1113. The hand of the same master is found in the crypt of St.-Parize-le-Châtel, which there is reason to believe was begun in 1113. The early date of the nave of Vézelay is thus still further confirmed.

Hence the date 1120 established for the keystone of Vézelay proves that the early dating indicated by the documents for the entire Burgundian school of Romanesque sculpture is correct.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30. 7.30 P.M.

# 1. THE LECTURE SYSTEM OF THE INSTITUTE IN RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

*Ralph Van Deman Magoffin*, New York University

# 2. GOLDEN DEEDS OF EGYPTIAN EXCAVATORS

*Jean Capart*, Royal Cinquenaire Museum of Brussels, visiting professor of the C. R. B. Educational Foundation, Inc.

# 3. THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN EXCAVATIONS AT PISIDIAN ANTIOCH AND AT SIZMA

*David Moore Robinson*, Johns Hopkins University

This paper, illustrated with more than a hundred slides mostly made by Mr. George R. Swain, official photographer of the expedition, including several colored views and Mr. Woodbridge's restorations of the Propylaea, the Temple of Augustus, the triple gateway in the west wall and his plan of the city, discussed the results of the excavations and gave a revised account, somewhat more up-to-date than the report published in the last number of the *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY*, pp. 434-444.

The statue of Victory referred to on pp. 435 and 441 is a good Roman copy of the first century A.D. of a Greek statue of the end of the fifth century B.C. and not an original Greek work. The bases referred to on p. 438 are those on which also stood the pedestals with the *Res Gestae*, which were probably carved in ten or more columns. The two sculptured captive Pisidians, one draped and the other nude, were in the spandrels of the central arch of the Propylaea (p. 439). On p. 441 the error was made of saying that the Temple of Augustus was of marble, whereas it was of a fine-grained limestone. A detailed publication will appear in the *University of Michigan Humanistic Studies*.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31. 9.30 A.M.

(Joint meeting with the College Art Association)

1. A BUST OF LORENZO DE'MEDICI IN THE COLLECTION  
OF MR. CLARENCE H. MACKAY*Clarence Kennedy, Smith College*2. (a) BEADS OF AURIGNACIAN AGE FROM THE DOR-  
DOGNE DISTRICT, FRANCE(b) ROCK CARVINGS OF THE MAGDELENIAN AGE  
FROM THE CAVE, LIMEUIL, DORDOGNE DIS-  
TRICT, FRANCE*George L. Collie, Beloit College*

## 3 FLEMISH PAINTINGS IN THE LEHMAN COLLECTION

*Walter W. S. Cook, New York*

(Read by title.)

## 4. ORIGINS OF EARLY CHRISTIAN PAINTING

*Clark Lamberton, Western Reserve University*

The paper stressed the desirability of beginning the study of Christian painting with examples of the first century, rather than with miniatures and other examples of several centuries later. In its origin Christian painting conformed faithfully to its environment. Its element of originality consisted in contriving a cycle of themes of Christian import under the terms of contemporary expression. This was the contribution of Christianity to art. In time the development of this cycle exercised due influence on technique. Christian painting had no antecedents save those of technique characteristic of the times. It had no Jewish antecedent, nor was it hindered by any scruple against art.

The episodes follow the manner of isolation. Examples of the continuous manner are rare, and manifestly do not characterize painting of the first four centuries. The treatment is fully realistic. The significant moment of action is isolated, and force is attained by the elimination of accessories. Details are so eliminated that the episode as constituted becomes powerfully symbolic. Yet the symbolic element pertains not so much to the painting as to the episode that it depicts and advertises by its concentrated treatment. This reflects a Roman feeling, in expression, and leads to the conclusion that the earliest Christian art is western in manner, in accord with geographical distribution.

## 5. A TEST IN ART APPRECIATION

*Erwin O. Christensen, University of North Dakota*6. OPPORTUNITY FOR STUDY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIE-  
VAL HISTORY IN THE MUSEUM OF BRUSSELS*Jean Capart, University of Liege*



## ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS<sup>1</sup>

### NOTES ON RECENT EXCAVATIONS AND DISCOVERIES; OTHER NEWS

EDWARD H. HEFFNER, *Editor*

*University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia*

### GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

**PHILIPPOPOLIS.**—An Inscription of Zeus Hypsistos.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XX, 1924, pp. 47–48, R. CAGNAT publishes an inscription communicated by Mr. Diakovitch, director of the National Library of Ploudiu, the ancient Philippopolis. The text reads: Διὶ ὑψίστῳ | Γ(αῖος) Μαίλιος Ἀγαθὸς | πους ἐπὶ τῆς | τῶν πατρῶνων | Γ(αίου) Μαίλιου Ἀκούλου κα(ὶ) | Φλαουλίας Τιοῦτης | καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν | σωτηρίας καὶ ἐ | αὐτοῦ χαριστήρι(ο)ν. The Ζεὺς ὑψίστος mentioned is known as having been worshiped in the Balkan peninsula and the East generally by Jewish-pagan brotherhoods. The surname Τιοῦτα is a Thracian name of which there are numerous examples.

**THRACE.**—Terracottas.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 307–350 (8 figs.), GEORGES SEURE continues his description of unpublished or little known monuments in Thrace with an article on terracottas. The first object described and discussed is a plaque on which two warriors are represented in relief. The style is archaic Ionic. No close analogies are known. The four fragments preserved are not parts of one plaque, but of several made from one mould. They were discovered in August, 1904, at Apollonia. A résumé of all known discoveries made at Apollonia and in the neighborhood is given, with a description of the tumuli. A black glazed amphora is published and various other objects found in tumuli are described. Another object published has the shape of a shoe or a boat, but the bottom or sole is formed of cross pieces with spaces between. Possibly it is an utensil in which to grill fish. The upper part of a lecythus is published, on which were painted five women, a winged sphinx, and two men, towards one of whom a winged Nike floats holding out a garland. The painting was probably once enriched with gilding. Another illustration shows a flat plaque from the handle of a Corinthian vase of the sixth century, on which a winged sphinx is painted.

**Atreus, King of the Achaeans(?).**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, p. 403, S. R. quotes a letter of DR. EMIL FORRER in which he declares that he has discovered Atreus (Attarissyas), king of Achaea (Ahhtja) in the text of a tablet from Boghaz Keui. The date is 1240–1210. Sir Arthur Evans seems to accept the identification, but calls attention to the fact that the date separates Atreus definitely from the Mycenaean and Minoan civilization. (*London Times*, March 8 and April 8, 1924; cf. *Orientalische Literatur-Zeitung*, March, 1924.)

<sup>1</sup> The departments of Archaeological News and Discussions and of Bibliography of Archaeological Books are conducted by Professor HEFFNER, Editor-in-Charge, assisted by Professor SAMUEL E. BASSETT, Professor C. N. BROWN, Miss MARY H. BUCKINGHAM, Professor SIDNEY N. DEANE, Professor HAROLD N. FOWLER, Dr. STEPHEN B. LUCE, Professor ELMER T. MERRILL, Professor LEWIS B. PATON, Professor JOHN C. ROLFE, Dr. JOHN SHAPLEY, and the Editors.

No attempt is made to include in this number of the JOURNAL material published after December 31, 1924.

For an explanation of the abbreviations, see pp. 115–116.



**NORTH CHINA.—An Early Chinese Culture.**—In *Bull. Geol. Surv. of China*, 1923, 5 (pp. 68, 17 pls., text in Chinese), J. G. ANDERSSON finds no sure traces of Palaeolithic or early Neolithic man, but has found a widely distributed culture of Late Neolithic type. No metal objects have been found thus far, but much pottery shows affinities to the bronze vessels of early dynasties, especially Chou. The plates show many stone knives, picks, Yang Shao artifacts, and painted pottery, linear black and white, and monochrome.

**FENG TIEN.**—The Cave-deposit at Sha Kuo T'un.—In *Palaeontologia Sinica*, 1923, Ser. D, Vol. I, fasc. I (pp. 57, plates 12, Chinese text), J. G. ANDERSSON describes a deposit, the artifacts from which are to be sent to the Stockholm Museum, dating from the dawn of Chinese history, a culture stage named by him the *Yang Shao*. The text describes the plates which show cross sections of the cave, and some of the celts, stone rings, buttons, beads, bone instruments, monochrome and painted pottery.

**NECROLOGY.**—**Albert I, Prince of Monaco.**—Prince Albert of Monaco (1848–1922) was not only one of the founders of the science of oceanography, but was also the founder of the Institut de palaeontologie humaine. At his expense the grottoes of Grimaldi were excavated, as were also the most important prehistoric sites in Spain and sites in Bavaria. He provided for the publication of the results of the excavations mentioned and also of mural paintings in the caves of Spain and France. (S. R., *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XVI, 1922, p. 173.)

**Ernest Babelon.**—The eminent director (since 1892) of the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, Ernest Babelon, died at Paris, January 3, 1924. He was born in 1854 at Sarrey and was educated at the little seminary of Langres and at the École des Chartes. In 1878 he entered the Cabinet des Médailles, where he was to find his life work. His first important published work was the new edition of Cohen's *Monnaies de la République romaine*. This was followed by an astonishing number of books, chiefly on numismatics, but including catalogues of antiquities, ancient bronzes, and cameos, a *Manual of Oriental Archaeology*, and a *Guide to Carthage*. He was the author of numerous articles in periodicals as well. His chief work, which is to be finished by his son, is the *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, the first volume of which appeared in 1901. (S. R., *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 386–389; portrait.)

**Franz Boll.**—Franz Boll, who, in 1908, succeeded Albert Dieterich as Professor at Heidelberg, was born July 1, 1867, and died July 3, 1924. He was especially interested in ancient astrology, with which most of his numerous and admirable writings are concerned. F. C., *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XX, 1924, p. 222 f.)

**Mgr. Louis Duchesne.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XVI, 1922, pp. 158–170 (portrait), S. REINACH gives an appreciative account of the life and work of Mgr. Louis Duchesne. Born in 1843, Duchesne spent his life in the service of the church and in historical and archaeological research and instruction. His most important works are the *Liber Pontificalis* (Vol. I, 1886; Vol. II, 1892) and the *Histoire ancienne de l'Église* (Vol. I, 1905, Vol. II, 1907; Vol. III, 1910), and his lesser writings are numerous and valuable. His scholarship was duly recognized both in France and in other countries. From 1895 until his death, April 21, 1922, he was Director of the École française de Rome.

**Paul Girard.**—Born in 1852, Paul Girard, Professor of Greek at the École Normale, member of the Académie des Inscriptions, former member of the École d'Athènes, died in July, 1922. His principal work is *L'Éducation athénienne au V<sup>e</sup> et au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1889); he was also the author of monographs on the Aselepieum at Athens and on the Ancient Locrians, of an excellent little book entitled *La Peinture antique*, and of numerous articles. (S. R., *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XVI, 1922, pp. 172–173.)

**Wilhelm Klein.**—Born in Hungary in 1850, Wilhelm Klein was a pupil of Conze

at Vienna, then of Wieseler and Matz at Göttingen. In 1886 he succeeded Petersen as Professor of Archaeology at Prague, where he taught until he reached the age of retirement. He died February 2, 1924, at Haindorf, in Bohemia. His best known works are: *Euphronius*, 2nd ed., 1886; *Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*, 2nd ed., 1897; *Vasen mit Lieblingsnamen*, 2nd ed., 1898; two volumes on Praxiteles, 1898-1899; and his history of Greek art, in three volumes, 1904-1907. He was also the author of many articles in periodicals. (S. R., *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 392 f.)

**Jacques de Morgan.**—Born June 3, 1857, Jacques de Morgan, one of the greatest and most distinguished of archaeologists, died at Marseilles June 12, 1924. In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XX, 1924, pp. 204-222 (portrait) S. REINACH gives a brief account of his life and work, with extracts from his letters. His first archaeological work was in the field of prehistoric archaeology in France, but his later activity was for the most part in the East, the Caucasus, Armenia, Egypt, and Persia. He was director of antiquities in Egypt from 1892 to 1897, during which time he made important discoveries and wrote books which would have sufficed for the life work of a lesser man. Before that he was for six years in northern Persia, where his archaeological researches were of great importance. The results of this mission are published in five large volumes. In 1897 he was transferred from Egypt to Persia, and the thirteen volumes of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* (1900-1912) testify to the magnitude and success of his work.

**Countess Pauline Ouharoff.**—The learned and brilliant woman who was for many years the soul of prehistoric studies in Russia, ex-president of the Imperial Archaeological Society of Moscow, the history of which she wrote (1890), died in exile and poverty at Dobrna, near Celju, in Jugoslavia, June 30, 1924. (S. R., *R. Arch.*, XX, 1924, p. 224.)

**Rudolf Pagenstecher.**—The death of Rudolf Pagenstecher, Professor at Heidelberg and afterwards at Rostock, occurred near the end of 1920. He was a diligent archaeologist and possessed a remarkable knowledge of Alexandrian Egypt. Among his works are: *Zur Athena Parthenos*, 1908; *Dated Sepulchral Vases from Alexandria*, 1909; *Die Calenische Reliefkeramik*, 1909; *Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler*, 1912; *Alexandrinische Studien*, 1917; *Necropolis, Untersuchungen über Gestalt und Entwicklung der alexandrinischen Grabanlagen und ihrer Malereien*, 1919. After Schreiber's death he undertook the task of finishing the publication of the *Expedition Ernst Sieglin*. (S. R., *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XVI, 1922, p. 175.)

**Sir Claude Phillips.**—The eminent critic, Sir Claude Phillips, was born in 1848 and died August 9, 1924. He became known as a connoisseur through articles published in the *Portfolio*. He studied especially Titian and his English imitators. In 1897 he was made conservator of the Wallace Collection and established it in Hertford House. Upon his retirement in 1897 he was knighted. For many years he was art critic of the *Daily Telegraph*. (S. R., *R. Arch.*, XX, 1924, p. 225.)

**Carl Robert.**—Carl Robert was born in 1850 at Marburg and died January 18, 1922, at Halle. After obtaining the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with a dissertation on the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus he was for several years in Greece and Italy as *Stipendiat* of the German Institute. He was Privatdocent and Professor at Berlin, then became Professor of Archaeology at Halle, where he remained to the end. At once philologist and archaeologist, he was editor-in-chief of the *Hermes*, member of the central direction of the Institute, and author of numerous monographs and articles. He also made the new edition of Preller's *Griechische Mythologie*. (S. R., *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XVI, 1922, p. 174; with bibliography.)

**Henri Saladin.**—Architect of the Government and laureate of the Institute, Henri Saladin died at Paris in December, 1923, at the age of 72 years. His name is permanently connected with the archaeological exploration of Tunisia, where he collaborated with Cagnat, and with the first volume of the *Manuel d'Art musul-*

man, treating of architecture, which forms a part of the Picard collection. (S. R., *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, p. 391.)

**Horace Sandars.**—The death of Horace Sandars, whose writings disclose a knowledge of the archaeology of Spain such as no Englishman before him had exhibited, took place in February, 1922. He wrote chiefly for *Archæologia* and *The Antiquaries Journal*. (S. R., *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XVI, 1922, p. 176.)

## EGYPT

**ASSIOUT.**—**Early Pottery and Flints.**—About thirty miles from Assiout, on the right bank of the Nile, The British School in Egypt carried on during July, 1924, excavations in a deposit two metres deep, which contained wavy pottery of a kind hitherto unknown in Egypt, and numerous flints. These are almost formless at first, but grow better in the upper strata. About midway wheat is found, at the same time with "predynastic" bricks. Sir Flinders Petrie thinks that the men who lived here were not Egyptians, but represent a hitherto unknown civilization. (*R. Arch.* XX, 1924, from the *Times*, July 4, 1924.)

**Nubian Pottery.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XVI, 1922, pp. 44-54, EDOUARD NAVILLE discusses the pottery called the pottery of Tell el Jahoudieh, which has been found in Nubia, Egypt, Syria, and Cyprus. The most important discoveries of this ware have been made by Dr. Hermann Junker, and his conclusion (see *Der nubische Ursprung der sogenannten Tell el Jahudiyé-Vasen*, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien) that the ware is Nubian must be accepted.

## BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

**UR.**—**Excavations.**—Since November, 1923, the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania have been excavating at Ur. Four miles from the ziggurat of Ur, the excavations of the temple of Tel-el-Obeid have unearthed interesting objects: a standing bull of white-stucco; a recumbent bull of bronze, part of a relief; polychrome flowers in white clay. The temple was built by Dungi, second king of the third dynasty (ca. 2250 B.C.). Near it is the earliest necropolis yet found in Mesopotamia (4000-5000 B.C.), in which objects of beaten copper, mingled with pottery and stone tools, have been found. From a tablet unearthed at the temple it appears that it was dedicated to the goddess Nin-Khursag and was erected by King Aannipada, son of Mesannipada, of the first dynasty of Ur (ca. 4600 B.C.). This would be the earliest written document yet discovered. (S. R., *R. Arch.* XIX, 1924, p. 399, summarized from L. Woolley, in the *Times* January 19, 1924; cf. *ibid.*, February 11, 1924.)

**Babylonian Parallels to the Song of Songs.**—Among the tablets discovered at Ashur was one that in form and contents bears a striking resemblance to the Biblical Song of Songs. This was published by Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, IV, No. 158. Translations were attempted by Ebeling, *M.D.O.G.*, LVIII, pp. 49 ff.; Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, pp. 464 ff.; Langdon, *J.R.A.S.* 1921, pp. 183 ff. A new translation with commentary is given by T. J. Meek, *J. Bibl. Lit.* XLIII, 1924, pp. 245-252. Two things are clear: (1) that the Assyrian hymns were taken from the liturgy of the Tammuz-Ishtar cult, (2) that the book of Canticles is so similar that it must have a common origin.

**The Nabopolassar Chronicle.**—The fragment of a chronicle of Nabopolassar covering the years 616-609 B.C., discovered by C. J. Gadd in 1923, which contains the important information that Nineveh fell in 612, and not in 606 as has hitherto been supposed, is discussed by W. F. Lofthouse, *Exp. Times.* XXXV, 1924, pp. 454-456; and by I. M. Price, *J.A.O.S.* XLIV, 1924, pp. 122-129. This chronicle gives us the names and dates of four successors of Ashurbanipal on the throne of Assyria: Ashur-etil-ilāni (626-622 B.C.), Sin-shum-lishir (622-620 B.C.), Sin-shar-

ishkun (620-612 B.C.), Ashur-uballit (612-605 B.C.). It shows also that Nabopolassar was independent of Assyria throughout his entire reign, that Assyria and Egypt were in alliance against the Babylonians and Medes, that Nineveh fell in 612, but that the Assyrian empire continued to exist until the defeat of the allied Egyptian and Assyrian armies at Carchemish in 605.

### SYRIA AND PALESTINE

**The Identity of Tid'al, King of Goyim, in Gen. 14: 1.**—In *Z.A.T.W.* XLII, 1924, pp. 148-153, F. M. T. BÖHL claims that Tid'al, king of Goyim (nations), the confederate of Amraphel, king of Shinar, Arioch, king of Elassar, and Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, in Gen. 14: 1, is to be identified with Tud'alia I of the Hittite inscriptions, the founder of the Hittite dynasty, who reigned about 1650 B.C., not with the better-known Tud'alia II, of the Hittite inscriptions and the Egyptian records, who lived about 1250 B.C. In this case Amraphel has nothing to do with Hammurabi, and Abraham is to be dated 1650 B.C. rather than 2100 B.C.

**The Israel Stele of Merenptah.**—In *Exp. Times*, XXXVI, 1924, pp. 40-44, J. W. JACK subjects the mention of Israel in the triumphal stele of Merenptah to a fresh examination. He finds it impossible to refer the words "Israel is destroyed, its seed is not" to any event of the exodus, or to an Israel nomadizing in the desert. The context shows that this Israel was settled in the land of Canaan. He rejects the theory that it refers to a portion of Israel already settled in Canaan, while another portion remained in Egypt, and holds that it indicates that the exodus had already taken place.

**New Light on the Reign of Nabonidus.**—In *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 1924, S. SMITH publishes a number of texts that refer to the reign of Nabonidus. One of these suggests that Nabonidus was a Syrian and unpopular with the priesthood. Another records an expedition in 553-552 through Amurru (the Amorite land) and Adummu (Edom) to Teima, the famous oasis in North Arabia. Still other texts suggest that Nabonidus may be the prototype of some of the legends concerning Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of Daniel. See also *Exp. Times*, XXXVI, 1924, pp. 44 ff.

**The Siloam Inscription.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 117-131, D. SIDERSKY gives a history of the discovery (in 1880) of the Hebrew inscription which records the making of the water tunnel of Siloam, a facsimile, a French translation, an interpretation, and an exhaustive bibliography.

**CHEIK SA'AD.—Various Monuments.**—At Cheik Sa'ad, in the Hauran, East of Caiffa and north of Dera'a, where a colossal basalt lion of Hittite style and a monolith bearing the name of Ramses II were previously known, a Czechoslovak expedition directed by Professor Hronzy has made interesting discoveries. On the base of the monolith a dedication by the Pharaoh to the Amorite god "Arkan of the North" has been found. On the top of the tell is a ruined Mussulman sanctuary, remains of a Ghassanide basilica, superposed upon a Greek temple, under which is an Amorite sanctuary. Below the sanctuary is the debris of a large building made of blocks of basalt, probably the palace of the Amorite kings of Bashan. It was paved with brick, an evidence of Babylonian influence. Two storerooms under this pavement contained baskets of carbonized grain and three tombs orientated east and west. Fragments of Hittite sculpture, a warrior with pointed helmet and a roaring lion, were found near at hand. A fragmentary inscription shows that as early as the eighth century the Amorites had adopted the Canaanite writing. Details are wanting concerning the sculptures of the Greco-Roman period and the Greek inscriptions found. (*S. R.*, *R. Arch.* XX, 1924, p. 233, from the *Times*, June 28, 1924, p. 11.)

**JERUSALEM.**—Excavations on the Eastern Hill.—The results of the excavations at Jerusalem carried on conjointly by the Palestine Exploration Fund and the *London Daily Telegraph* are given by G. DUNCAN in *Pal. Ex.*, LVI, 1924, pp. 124-135; 264-279, 8 plates; 12 figs. The Eastern wall of the Jebusite or Pre-Davidic city has been uncovered. The date is determined by underlying chips of pottery which belong to the Late Second and Third Bronze Age, 1600-1400 B.C. There are at least three different periods represented in the masonry—Jebusite, Davidic, Solomonic, and probably of the time of Nehemiah's restoration. Three caves have been uncovered which yielded pottery of the Bronze Age. An early ostrakon, and a number of inscribed jar-handles have also been discovered. The age and significance of the inscribed objects are discussed by S. A. Cook, *ibid.* pp. 180-186.

**KISH.**—Excavations.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, p. 398, p. 399, and XX, 1924, pp. 231 f., are summaries by S. R. of articles in the *Times* (January 22, February 26, June 27, 1924) about the important excavations at Kish carried on by Oxford University and the Field Museum. A library of tablets containing Sumero-Babylonian grammars and dictionaries, a great Sumerian palace with circular pillars, stairs, and walls on which are inscriptions in very early pictographic characters, various other inscriptions, much sculpture in relief, a fine bronze stag, three dogs of polychrome terracotta, two figurines representing Papsukkal, the messenger of the gods, and a great number of other remains were unearthed.

**PALMYRA.**—Paintings and Sarcophagi.—In the *Times*, June 20, 1924, four objects found in the excavations at Palmyra are reproduced, viz., two mural paintings found in a tomb, the draped figure of Hairan, son of Taimarsou (inscription) and a half-nude reclining Dionysus; the lower part of a sarcophagus adorned with four busts; a sarcophagus representing a reclining person and three smaller persons. (*X.*, *R. Arch.* XX, 1924, p. 233.)

**TANTURAH.**—A Greco-Phoenician Temple.—The excavations of the British School of Archaeology in Palestine have brought to light at Tanturah a large Greco-Phoenician temple of early Ionic style. It is supposed to be a temple of Poseidon. In a mausoleum at Tel-Barak, which had previously produced a sarcophagus with reliefs representing a battle of Amazons (published in the *Times*, November 9, 1923, and in *Beaux-Arts*), a new sarcophagus with reliefs has been found. (*S. R.*, *R. Arch.* XX, 1924, p. 231.)

## ASIA MINOR

**GALATIA.**—Inscriptions and Monuments.—A number of ancient inscriptions, including pagan and Christian epitaphs, honorary decrees, and inscriptions on buildings, were found and copied by R. D'ORBELLIANI with the aid of native workmen, in the course of a three years' captivity at Angora, 1915-1918. Of 81 from Angora itself, those which are new or which furnish corrections of earlier versions are published, with some facsimiles and other drawings, in *J.H.S.* XLIV (1924), pt. I, pp. 24-44. Among the details noted are the occurrence of the Gaulish name Bokerex, the survival of the loop of the Egyptian ankh at the bottom of the sculptured cross, and the dating of events by months and by the days of the week. Most of the stones are now either built into walls or used as tomb stones in the Jewish and Armenian cemeteries. The two longest inscriptions, both on white marble, are a decree of the Galatian Koinon, from the reign of Trajan (64 ll.), in which the erection of the statue of Augustus is mentioned, and a decree of the guild of Dionysiac artists (55 ll.) in honor of Ulpus Aelius Pomponianus. This last and many other inscriptions lie so exposed to weather damage that they will soon be entirely obliterated.

## GREECE

**Archaeology in Greece, November, 1922–November, 1923.**—In *B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, pp. 498–544 (11 figs.) there is the usual summary of archaeological work done in Greek lands during the year. Under the head of museums, mention is made of the project for adding a story to the National Museum in Athens, and reorganizing the Byzantine collections. An appropriation was granted for urgent repairs to the museums at Delphi and Olympia, and attention is called to the poor condition of the provincial museum buildings in Greece. Of the excavations conducted during the year, those to which most attention is given are those of the French at Delphi (pp. 513–519, figs. 1–4): Ptoion (p. 521 and fig. 5): Delos (pp. 525–529, figs. 6, 7), where a fine archaic male head was found: Mallia in Crete (pp. 532–534, fig. 9): Philippi (pp. 534–536): and Thasos (pp. 536–540, fig. 10), where the important colossal statue of the criophorus recently discovered in the acropolis, and dating in the early archaic period, has been set up outside the museum. In addition to these excavations of the French, a full account is given of Sir Arthur Evans's work at Cnossus during the year (pp. 529–532), and of preliminary excavations conducted by the German Archaeological Institute at Paros and Naxos (p. 529 and fig. 8).

**CNOSSUS.—New Discoveries.**—Near the great palace at Cnossus Sir Arthur Evans has discovered the remains of a pillared portico forming a monumental entrance, and those of a Cyclopean viaduct which is said to be the most important construction as yet discovered in Crete. Other discoveries are the ruins of what may be a caravansary and those of an elegant little pavilion, with remains of paintings and a decorative frieze in which birds are especially noticeable. (*S. R., R. Arch.* XX, 1924, p. 237.)

**NOTION.—Excavations, 1921.**—In 1913, the French School at Athens began the clearing of the sanctuary of Apollo Clarios at Colophon, and made a survey of the acropolis at Notion, its seaport, which seemed to offer great possibilities (see *B.C.H.* XXXIX, 1915, pp. 37 f.). The work of excavating this site was undertaken in 1921, and the first part of the report of the campaign, by R. DEMANGEL and A. LAUMONIER, appears in *B.C.H.* XLVII, 1923, pp. 353–386 (24 figs.; pls. X–XIII). This report is devoted to the topography, remains of buildings, and inscriptions found. Notion is situated on the coast, about ten miles from Colophon, with a small but safe harbor. The fortification walls, of solid ashlar masonry, are still largely preserved. The city itself extended outside the acropolis, to the north and east. The buildings identifiable at present are a theatre, a dicasterium (?), a gymnasium(?), and a temple, proved by an inscription to be dedicated to Athena. In addition, two agoras have been found, one in the centre of the city, the other in the eastern quarter. The principal work of the campaign lay in the uncovering and identification of the sanctuary of Athena, consisting of a small temple and an altar, surrounded on all four sides by a stoa, facing approximately east and west. This stoa is of the Doric order; a large part of the stylobate and fragments of the columns have been found, but of the entablature nothing that can be certainly identified. The sanctuary was entered by a gate at the northeast corner, leading to a street that skirted the sanctuary, on the west side of which a row of shops was found, which yielded rich finds of terracottas and other objects, to be published later. The altar has been destroyed by treasure hunters, and so is in poor preservation. The temple is a small *templum in antis* of the Corinthian order; of the columns and entablature enough has been found to enable a restoration of the façade to be drawn. It is dated in the time of Hadrian. Of the inscriptions, the most important is the one which identifies the sanctuary,—a dedication by Zosima, priestess of Athena. Of the other inscriptions the most important are one proving the existence at Notion of a society of



the Asclepiastae, and an epitaph, recalling the funerary epigrams of the Anthology. A number of stamped bricks, amphora handles, pottery fragments, and a few coins complete the series of inscriptions.

**THASOS.—Excavations, 1921–22.**—In *B.C.H.* XLVII, 1923, pp. 315–352 (19 figs.; pls. VI–IX) G. DAUX and A. LAUMONIER give an account of the campaigns conducted in those years by the French School at Athens. The greater part of the article is devoted to the topography of the site and the architectural remains found. These consisted of the uncovering of the agora and of the theatre, while preliminary trenches also resulted in the discovery of the precinct of Dionysus, and in one of the city gates. The uncovering of the agora, begun in 1920, was completed, and its dimensions and plan were established. It was enclosed by stoas on all four sides except a portion of the east, of which the northern is the most elaborate. The order throughout is Doric, and the date assigned is the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century B.C. On the east, midway between the Prytaneum and the northern stoa, a curious building was discovered, looking towards the southwest angle of the agora, and directly opposite the entrance of the Hypostyle Hall, discovered in 1912, thus forming one end of one of the principal streets of the ancient city. This building apparently belongs in the beginning of the third century B.C. It had a central entrance between two projecting wings, and the façade was in the form of a Doric colonnade *in antis*. It is suggested that it was a council hall, and a comparison with the bouleuterion at Mantinea is made. It may also have been a lesche, although the authors do not consider this quite as probable. To the northeast of the agora the wall of an enclosure was discovered, which was identified as the precinct of Dionysus by a dedicatory inscription found associated with it. The excavation of the theatre was not completed, owing to the thickness of vegetation, but evidence was found showing a Roman theatre superposed on a Greek theatre dating possibly as early as the end of the fifth century B.C. Of the sculptures found, the most interesting is an archaistic head of Zeus, or perhaps Dionysus, belonging to a herm, dated in the fourth century; a small torso of a boy of Hellenistic workmanship; a votive relief of the second century B.C., representing Helen and the Dioscuri; and a relief of late workmanship of a man riding on a dolphin, identified as Arion. A number of small terracottas, a fine fragment of an Attic black-figured crater (quadriga) and a handsome Byzantine six-ounce weight complete the list of minor objects found.

## ITALY

**CENTURIPE.—Forged and Falsified Terracottas.**—In *R. Arch.* XX, 1924, p. 240, P. ORSI issues a warning against the works of a combination of secret excavators at Centuripe (Sicily) with clever workers in terracotta, which has resulted in putting on the market many terracottas (busts of Demeter and Cora, Hellenistic figurines, figurines of the infant Eros, and of nude women) made by placing together ancient fragments and completing them with new parts.

## SPAIN

**TARTESSUS.**—The second campaign in the search for Tartessus took place in Sept.–Oct., 1923, supported again by the Duke of Tariffa, owner of the Coto Doña Ana, the vast and almost uninhabited district of southwestern Spain which includes the mouths of the Gaudalquivir, anc. Baetis. It consists of swamps, sand dunes and forests and is used only as a hunting ground. The earlier explorations had established the positions of the two ancient outlets of the river at Matalascañas and Torre Salabar, and eliminated from consideration the former, the "western fork" of Strabo. The site of Tartessus, which was destroyed about 500 B.C., was therefore to be looked for on the right or northern edge of the eastern



channel, between Pico de Caño and Torre Salabar. The work of excavating was devoted to a small Roman settlement in the eastern part of this line, between Pico de Caño and Trigo, which, to judge from the copper coins found, had existed for about 300 years, A.D. 200-500. It was a mere fishermen's village, of little size or importance, and the large, carefully cut building stones which were found cannot have been brought from the nearest quarries in the mountains by these humble folk, and must therefore have been taken from the ruins of Tartessus. Vats for salting fish were found and among the modest offerings in the grave-yard was some Visigothic pottery, but the most important find was a cylindrical copper finger-ring with inscriptions both inside and outside, which are neither Greek, Roman, Iberian, Phoenician, nor Libyan, though some of the characters resemble Greek letters. As both inscriptions appear to be divided into three parts, which in the case of the inner one are identical, they may be mottoes or proverbs, and the ring itself an amulet. The remains of Tartessus must be near this settlement, though not directly beneath it, and they are probably now below the level of the ground water, as the whole coast seems to have sunk. The search must be continued to the west of Trigo, by digging in the hollows between the ridges of accumulated sand. A. SCHULTEN, *Arch. Anz.*, 1923-24, pt. 1-2, cols. 1-10; fig., map, facsimile.

### PORTUGAL

**Religious Ideas of the Lusitanians.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XVI, 1922, pp. 128-157 (fig.), J. LEITE DE VASCONCELLOS defends himself against the aspersions of M. Toutain (*Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, Pt. I, Vol. III, Chap. ii, pp. 121-192) and publishes a French translation of pp. 84-94 of the third volume of his *Religiões da Lusitania*.

### FRANCE

**FINISTÈRE.—Prehistoric Necropolis.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 179-194 (2 figs.), Commandant BÉNARD describes the necropolis of Saint Urnel and that of Roz-an-Tre-Men and gives some information about the peninsula of La Torche at Finistère, where excavations have been carried on for some five years. The stratification is clear, and the burials continued from very early times to the period of La Tène III, and some tombs are as late as the beginning of the Christian era.

**LYONS.—A Statuette of Mars.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, 1-4 (pl.), HENRI LÉCHAT publishes a bronze statuette of Mars which was found at Feurs (Loire) in 1891 and is now in the collection of Mr. Claudius Côte, at Lyons. The god wears a Corinthian helmet, a cuirass, and greaves. The lance which he brandished in his right hand has disappeared, as has the small shield which he held in his left hand. Two statuettes in the British Museum (Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes*, pl. xxiii, 798 and 1071) are compared with this, the date of which is probably the second century after Christ.

**NÉRIS.—Two Ancient Bronzes.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1925, pp. 301-306 (pl.), ADRIAN BLANCHET publishes two bronze statuettes found at Nérès (Allier) a few years ago. The first is a group of Bacchus seated on his panther. Certain parts show traces of incrustation with a metal different from the bronze of which the group is made. The workmanship is poor. The second bronze is a child, clad in a short garment fastened about the waist. On his left wrist he has a small closed basket or box, and in his raised right hand he holds what may be a bunch of grapes. On his head he wears an inverted basket like those used in gathering grapes. The child may be a young worker at the vintage. This statuette also is of poor workmanship; the hands are especially rude and exaggerated. Both statuettes were no doubt made in Gaul.

**RENNES.**—Two Bronze Statuettes.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 215-222 (7 figs.), PAUL COUISSIN publishes two bronze statuettes, probably from Egypt, which have been in the archaeological museum at Rennes since 1901. One represents a female dancer or acrobat, who wears only a cache-sexe, bands about the knees, and sandals. The right foot and the left arm, which was raised high, are missing. The broken object in the left hand was probably a sistrum. The style is good. The other bronze is of far less artistic interest. It is the foot of a vase or tripod, and has the form of a serpent-tailed dragon swallowing a man feet foremost. The head, arms, and shoulders of the man are alone visible. The dragon's tail ends in a trefoil. Under the raised head of the dragon is a support on which are two human heads in profile facing each other. The dragon has in part the appearance of a crocodile. The representation appears to be unique.

**Protohistory of Southern France and the Hispanic Peninsula.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XVI, 1922, pp. 1-43 (map), LÉON JOULIN enumerates the sites in Southern France and the Hispanic peninsula at which remains have been found dating from the eighth century B.C. to the coming of the Romans; he describes briefly the objects found at each site, discusses the different civilizations met with, their geographical distribution, and the chronological indications furnished by the remains; he then gives a brief history of the long period under discussion and a bibliography.

**SOUTHERN FRANCE.**—Excavations of Roman Remains.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, p. 410 is a brief record (from the *Débats*, March 2 and 23, 1924) of excavations in Southern France undertaken by the Commission des Monuments Historiques and directed by Jules Formigé. At Vienne (Isère) an immense theatre, larger than the one at Orange, has been attacked. The foundations for forty rows of seats, with their approaches, have been found. At Orange (Vaucluse), in the gymnasium, is a temple 22m. long, on a podium 3.75m. high the upper cornice, adorned with lion's head gargoyles, is 1.20m. high, indicating that the columns should be about 15m. in height. The temple was peripteral, and in front of its platform was another platform 56m. long, with a semicircular colonnade 74m. in diameter. Beyond were gardens with fountains and colonnades. Two great stairways led up to a second temple, above which rose a vast wall to sustain the upper city. At Saint Rémy (Bouches du Rhone), beside the temple of Silvanus, discovered the previous year (the only known temple of Silvanus), a colonnade of square plan has been brought to light, the Doric order of which, entirely Greek in type, is unique in Gaul. At Fréjus (Var) a Roman street with façades of houses has been uncovered. At Vaison (Vaucluse) the excavation of the theatre has been continued, a street with several houses has been uncovered, and a new bath has been found. At Aix les Bains a piscina paved with white marble has been found, and in it a magnificent white marble torso of Hercules.

## SWITZERLAND

**GENEVA.**—Greco-Egyptian Terracottas.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XX, 1924, pp. 80-158 (12 figs. representing 39 objects), W. DEONNA gives a catalogue of about a thousand Greco-Egyptian terracottas (and a few limestone figurines and reliefs) in the Museum at Geneva. Most of them are so-called Fayûm terracottas, and of these the majority date from the first and second centuries after Christ. Technically they are poor. Their purpose is to gain protection and benefits from the gods, especially fecundity, health, and prosperity. They were used as lamps, vases, amulets, and votive offerings. Greek types are imitated, often assimilated to Egyptian types or fused with them. Gauls, negroes, Egyptians, children, pygmies, various animals, and persons engaged in various significant acts are represented, in addition to numerous deities, most of whom are directly connected with fertility, fecundity, health, and prosperity. Such are Serapis,

Isis, Isis-Aphrodite, Harpocrates, Harpocrates-Eros, Horus, Athena-Neith, Bes, Besit, Priapus, Silenus, Pan, and a few more. Divine animals, the Sphinx, Apis, the sacred cow, and cynocephali are also represented.

**Some Engraved Stones.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XVIII, pp. 135 ff. (fig.), W. DEONNA published an engraved stone, now in Geneva, on which is represented an ibis attached, apparently, by a cord to some objects which stand on an altar. *Ibid*, XIX, 1924, p. 419 (fig.), A. MERLIN adds three similar stones.

**Three Statuettes of Ephesian Artemis.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 5-23 (6 figs.), W. DEONNA publishes three terracotta statuettes of the Ephesian Artemis, which were acquired in Smyrna and are now in the Musée de l'Art et de l'Histoire at Geneva. The classic, many-breasted type may possibly have been created when the temple at Ephesus was rebuilt about 350 B.C. Two of these statuettes are of the usual type, the third holds out in her hands some wide drapery which is explained as a veil. This and the various attributes of the goddess are discussed at some length. The protecting goddess, with cosmic attributes and powers, may be the remote ancestress of the Virgin of Pity, the *Mater Omnium*.

### POLAND

**GOSZCZYNNÓ.**—**A Terra Sigillata Vase.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 295-300 (fig.), WLADIMIR ANTONIEWICZ publishes a vase of terra sigillata which was found in 1921 at Goszczywno, in the district of Leczyca, Poland. The decoration, in relief, consists of an egg moulding and below this a series of arches, circles, and colonettes. The type corresponds to No. 37 of Déchelette and Dragendorff, No. 231 of Behn. It is prevalent in the latter part of the first century of our era. Other discoveries show that products of Gallo-Roman industry were imported in considerable numbers in the territory called Vandal, in the upper valley of the Warta. In this vase were charred bones on which were placed an iron knife, a clay bead, an iron rivet, and seventeen small objects of very thin gold, cone-shaped, with vertical channels.

### GREAT BRITAIN

**BIDFORD-ON-AVON.**—**Anglo-Saxon Objects.**—The *London Times* of March 21, 1924, publishes photographs of Anglo-Saxon objects found at Bidford-on-Avon in excavations carried on in 1922-1923 by Mr. John Humphreys. The objects include a large gilded fibula, a wooden bucket with bronze hoops, and four brooches. The date is between 500 and 560 A.D. (X., *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, p. 412.)

**FOLKSTONE.**—**A Roman Station.**—In *R. Arch.* XX, 1924, pp. 247-248, S. E. WINBOLT reports the discovery and partial excavation in the Spring of 1924 of a Roman station near Folkstone. So far the remains uncovered are those of a large villa—rooms and corridors, two hypocausts, and a bath. The place appears to have been inhabited during three centuries at least. Urns were found containing bronze objects (three fibulae, a bracelet, and a ring) and a silver fibula, all belonging to La Tène III and IV. Coins date from the time of the Roman conquest, or earlier, to Constantius II. No traces of any military structure, such as might have been expected at this point, were found.

### NORTHERN AFRICA

**VOLUBILIS.**—**The Inscription on the Triumphal Arch.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 114-116, A. FIGANIOL restores line 4 of the inscription on the triumphal arch at Volubilis (*C.I.L.* VIII, 9, 993 and p. 976, 21.828; R. Cagnat, L. Merlin, L. Chatelain, *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique*, Paris, 1923) to read *erga universos et novam supra omnes re(tro prin) cipes, etc.*

## EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE, MEDIAEVAL, AND RENAISSANCE ART

### ITALY

**ROME.—Christian Inscriptions.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XX, 1925, pp. 159-164, SEYMOUR DE RICCI gives a brief history of the publication of the Christian inscriptions of Rome begun by J. B. De Rossi, the first volume of which appeared 1857-1861. No further volumes appeared. Now the first volume has been re-edited (*Inscriptiones christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores colligere coepit Johannes Baptista De Rossi, complevit ediditque Angelus Silvagni*, t. I. Rome, Befani, 1922, lxiv, 516 pp.) by Angelo Silvagni, who is to continue the work.

**The Hypogaeum of the Viale Manzoni.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 405-409, is an article by H. CHÉRAMY (from the *Débats*, April 22, 1924) on the frescoes of the subterranean tomb of the Aurelii in the Viale Manzoni at Rome (see Ducati, in his *Arte Classica*, and Bendinelli, 'Il monumento sepolcrale degli Aureli al viale Manzoni,' *Memorie dell' Accademia dei Lincei*, 1923). He adopts Mgr. Wilpert's explanation of the paintings in the chamber to the left as the Sermon on the Mount and the miracles which follow in the gospel of Matthew; in the upper chamber, the temptation of Eve appears to have been represented. The paintings of the chamber to the right have not yet been satisfactorily explained; they probably illustrate the doctrines of some obscure sect.

**The Pantheon and the Académie royale d'Architecture.**—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, XIX, 1924, pp. 351-361, HENRY LEMONNIER publishes extracts from the records of meetings of the Académie royale d'Architecture and gives an account of the interest displayed by the Académie during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Pantheon in Rome.

### ROUMANIA

**BUCHAREST.—The Congress of Byzantine Studies.**—In *R. Arch.* XX, 1924, pp. 243-246, is a brief account by HENRI GRÉGOIRE (from the *Débats*, July 6, 1924) of the Congress of Byzantine Studies, held at Bucharest in the second fortnight of April, 1924. Twelve nations were represented by sixty scholars, among whom are some of the most distinguished Byzantinists. All branches of Byzantine studies were discussed, and excursions were made to many interesting places in Roumania.

## NEWS ITEMS FROM THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

The reports of the excavation campaigns of last summer have come in from some of the Archaeological Schools and also from the Greek archaeologists. In addition to the work reported in the last number of the JOURNAL M. M. Picard and Replat of the French School made a special study of the interior arrangement of the great temple of Apollo at Delphi and were unable to find any evidence for inner rows of columns. A close examination of the ruins led them to conclude that a part at least of the cella was without a roof, and that on the sides there was only, as at the Heraeum at Olympia, an arrangement of socles, 1.26 m. wide, with perhaps little perpendicular side walls forming chapels. From the side wall of the temple near the *adyton*, there would have been a great grille running across the interior from north to south; that which M. Courby took for the *adyton* itself appears to be only the rectangle of the *oikos*.

M. de la Coste-Messelière continued the clearing of the west portico of which the plan now appears very plainly. A rather late Roman rebuilding changed the entire east half into Baths; this rebuilding came before the ruin of the portico and the fall of the interior supports, one of which remains *in situ* in the pavement of the Baths. The Byzantine church on the east has been cleared as well as the court in front which was formerly covered with bases and votive monuments. Among the new inscriptions found (a dozen), there should be noted especially: a new fragment of the accounts of the fourth century, a metrical inscription of the third, probably an epigram from the statue of a horseman, the signature of a sculptor of the Rhodian school, four manumissions (second and first century B.C.), one of them gives the name of a new archon, and three the names, previously unknown, of *bouleutai*.

At the Hermeion the excavations were carried to a great depth and the successive stages in the progress of this little archaic sanctuary were determined. Here were found, at the bottom, neolithic sherds of a very characteristic style, above them fragments of geometric vases and finally a layer exclusively "Corinthian" (VII and VI centuries). In the Geometric period there appears to have been only one sanctuary, in the region already explored, but there were two later ones in the early archaic period. An abundance of fragments of beautiful Corinthian vases were recovered, some with very fine human figures (the series is being repaired). The bronzes mentioned in the last JOURNAL were found here. The sanctuary was abandoned at the beginning of the fifth century.

Several changes were made in the Museum: the mounting and restoration of the statue of Aparos (?), or Agelas, from the ex-voto group of Daochos; studies and restoration of the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury were made. A new epigraphical storehouse is being constructed to shelter, as much as possible, the inscriptions which have been left heretofore in the excavations and which suffered from exposure.

At Delos M. M. Picard and Replat resumed work in March 1924, giving especial attention to the Artemision, the terrace south of the Cabirion and an unexplored sanctuary at Phourni.

The terrace to the south of the Cabirion, at the edge of the upper reservoir of the Inopos, appears to have been occupied by archaic sanctuaries, opposite to the Heraeum (to the east); a temenos, belonging to the Cabirion, surrounded by a wall and a portico on three sides, was identified, its limits determined and cleared during the autumn. The extent of the construction of the Cabirion has been thus established. It may be that the neighboring region to the south is that of

the Herakleion. The chief result of these excavations has been the bringing to light of an archaic curb wall, surrounding, on the west, the upper basin of the Inopos, which appears indeed, from this to have been the real *λίμνη τροχουίδης* of Herodotus (II. 170) near Cynthus. This whole region would then take on added importance in connection with the history of the Delian cults, the lake in the plain having been only a Hellenistic successor to this. The archaic wall of the upper lake was cleared for about thirty metres, with its curbing and an emissary on the north very strongly built with foundations on the rock.

In the Phourni region they began to clear a sanctuary open to the sea and forming an almost perfect rectangle, 53 m. by 25 m.; a road uniting this region with that of Cynthus was found and towards the east were discovered the remains of a stepped approach, the temple itself and the base of the cult statue. Towards the west a sort of portico opens out and in this was found the fragment of a bilingual inscription, Greco-Phoenician offering of a Tyrian, Poumai-Pygmaios (1st century A.D.). This dedication suggests that the sanctuary at the edge of the water was frequented especially by Orientals who could disembark there before going up to make their prayers in the other little sanctuaries grouped around Cynthus.

Excavations were carried on at Philippi in the month of May and centered on the theatre, the porticoes of the agora and the basilica of Derekler. In the theatre M. M. Charbonneaux and Chapouthier finished clearing the left side of the orchestra, as well as the northwest parados. One may now trace the stages in the plan of this parados wall, which represents in brief the history of the whole edifice. During the imperial epoch, in the course of the third century, a place was set aside for the worship of Nemesis, in connection with the *venationes* and gladiatorial games held in the theatre. This curious arrangement was found together with inscriptions and sculpture (cf. *B.C.H.* 1924, XLVIII, pp. 287 ff.).

In the region around the porticoes, the substructures of a building belonging to the Roman agora were discovered.

At Derekler, the excavations were concentrated on the right side of the basilica where the stylobate of the interior colonnade was cleared. A new inscription was found, in "old Bulgarian," similar to that found last year; it throws light upon the history of the struggles which divided the inhabitants of the country in the tenth century. They discovered also a very beautiful capital of the interior colonnade. The side chapel on the right has been traced and shows a plan very like that of the baptistery (left side), but without the fount, naturally, and with slightly thicker walls. A trench to the north of the Drama-Cavalla road brought to light, along the Byzantine wall, the substructure of a part of the Macedonian wall, belonging to the defensive system of the gate called Neapolis; at the end of the imperial period there stood near here a large bronze statue of a personage wearing a cuirass (the type of the statue from Barletta). Search for pieces of this statue could not be made without tearing up the road, which is impossible at present.

At the Dionysion in Thasos the limits of the sacred precinct were traced and the foundations of part of the enclosing wall were found. The excavators recovered a late dedication offered by a mystic Dionysiac brotherhood, connected with the Dionysion; an interesting ex-voto of the *apologoi* to the hero Pontos (end of the IV century B.C.); another dedication of the same magistrates to Agathos Daimon, who was honored in the precinct of the Dionysion (altar discovered last year); this inscription dates from the beginning of the III century; a new inscribed base, with the names of the dedicators (magistrates) seems to belong to the middle of the same century. The clearing of the choragic monument and



its surroundings has been completed; near it was found the lower part of a seated archaic statue of good workmanship.

At the so-called Semele archaic gateway, the investigations were completed. The gate belongs to the wall built in 494 B.C. and therefore permits us to date the curious relief still in place, with Hermes, Semele, Dionysos and Ino (or Persephone). This gateway, which opens on a small stretch of sandy shore, was used perhaps for certain mystic ceremonies in connection with the Dionysiac cult. During the work in this region there was found a very important inscription, forty-three lines long dating from the second century B.C. It is a decree of the brotherhood of Serapiasts of Thasos and determines the relative antiquity of this brotherhood whose existence was suspected. The text gives interesting details concerning the organization of the society, already numerous, and sets forth in part the conditions for the sale of the "eponymy," an office to which were attached certain specified privileges.

On the Acropolis the extreme southern point of the Venetian fortress was cleared, with a very well preserved guardroom, with walls of marble and a corridor approaching it also of marble. Two inscriptions were recovered: one has the beginning of a decree of about the year 300 (archonship of Pheidippos Chrysorou, *I.G. XII<sup>2</sup>*, 287, 1.5); the other (first century A.D.) is a fragment of a dedication to Hermes and to a divinity "protectress of the city." Many fragments of archaic statues were also found, a male torso, head of a sphinx (?).

The substructures of a precinct wall were brought to view between the Bouleuterion and the Silenus gateway. Excavations will be resumed here next year. Near the gateway of the Lions two parastades of a new city gate were discovered, with the wall perhaps flanked by a tower at this point.

The only considerable remaining part of the ancient city of Aegina is the well-known temple on the hill which juts out into the sea north of the modern town. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century two columns of the opisthodomos still stood with their architrave; today only the shaft of one column remains. The proximity of the modern town and the sea has always made the ruins a convenient quarry. The uncertainty as to the identity of the temple has now been settled by the discovery of an archaic boundary stone: it is the sanctuary of Aphrodite Epilemeni mentioned by Pausanias.

The temple was first investigated by Cockerell in 1812 without the success he had hoped for; the only piece of sculpture he found—an archaic foot—he presented to the Glyptothek in Munich. Excavations were conducted here in 1894 by Stais, who laid bare, east of the foundations of the temple, prehistoric and archaic houses with abundant remains of pottery. In 1904 Furtwängler, through the generosity of von Basserman-Jordan, began excavations which were interrupted by his death in 1907. His most important find (unfortunately an isolated discovery), namely, the severe sphinx, a copy of which now adorns his tomb, was published by him.

The object of the present Bavarian excavations in Aegina, carried on by Mr. Paul Wolters and Mr. Welter-Mauve, with the funds for the most part contributed by Dr. James Loeb, was to unite as far as possible into a connected whole the separate earlier excavations which still remained without proper relation to each other. Up to the present time the following results have been accomplished:

The prehistoric houses first found by Stais have been further cleared and a palace-like structure can now be recognized on the east side of the hill. The wall around it, provided with towers, is 3.80 m. thick and stands to a height of 2.20 m. Its date is determined by the masses of pottery found, characteristic Aeginetan vases decorated with linear patterns in dull paint, and also by a few sherds of im-



ported Kamares ware. It has not yet been definitely determined what buildings belong to the more ancient monochrome pottery, sometimes decorated with incised patterns. Perhaps they lie farther to the west where a strongly fortified settlement, consisting of single houses, immediately adjoins this area. The walls of this settlement, several times strengthened and extended, with an especially well-protected gateway, have not yet been cleared to their complete preserved height (5.00 m. at one point).

After the ruin of the great house (the palace) a settlement spread over the region east of the temple which can be sufficiently well dated by its remains (late Mycenaean vases and graves), though the unusually close succession of strata makes subdivision very difficult. A clear, connected layer with houses and a street first appears with the fine house cleared by Stais. This layer cannot, however, be attributed to the seventh century, but is at least a century later. A mould for making a small bronze ring of an early Proto-Corinthian type and other remains of a foundry give a fixed point before the construction of these houses. Two periods may easily be distinguished in these houses by the direction of their chief rooms. Stais' fine house belongs to the later period. Over this layer extends for some distance a floor made of light poros chips and dating from the end of the sixth century. The masses of earth spread out in its construction contain unusually numerous and good remains of Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian pottery. These latter as well as the sherds from the pit (*bothros*) discovered by Stais come from the more ancient sanctuary of Aphrodite. That the latter already possessed a temple of some consequence is shown by the remains of a large semicircular acroterion of Proto-Corinthian style (diameter 1.28 m.). The finds made by Stais (sacrificial dishes) prove that the cult goes back to the period of the Geometric style; similar sherds were found also in the present excavations, scattered over a wide area. The commercial relations of Aegina, especially with the east, are reflected in the imported objects, which, though scanty, are of various kinds, among them remains of ostrich eggs, Naucratic faïences, scarabs, so-called Rhodian vases and terra-cottas. Some fragments of Cyprian vases and terra-cottas indicate the source from which Aegina got its bronze.

The levelling by means of the poros chips mentioned above must be contemporary with the building of the present temple. The conjecture that the sphinx found by Furtwängler was an acroterion of this temple, which accordingly might be dated about 460 B.C., must be abandoned. The well-preserved capitals which are now known show that the temple is somewhat older than that to Aphaia. Furthermore, the discovery in the recent excavations, of the torso of a crouching marble sphinx (0.70 m. high), of Roman date, suggests that the sphinx for some reason enjoyed special favor in this sanctuary. In spite of the advanced state of ruin the plan and reconstruction of the temple may still be determined. The problem whether and to what extent the archaic sculptures, which are for the most part very fragmentary, belonged to the temple still needs clearing up. The upper part of the body of an archaic maiden is probably to be regarded as a separate work. A relief, the interpretation of which is not quite clear, showing two chariots moving in opposite directions is probably sepulchral.

Only a few other buildings belong with the temple, notably a small propylon on the south. When toward the end of classical times this sacred enclosure was transformed into a fortress the propylon was remodelled into a broader entrance permitting the passage of vehicles. Extensive remains of the wall of this period, built of ancient building material, have been found, especially on the north. At one point it still stands to a height of 5.00 m. and the blocks of an earlier building used here bear inscriptions of the Roman period referring to *Damothoiniai* to which well-to-do patrons invited the citizens with their families.

The investigations begun by Furtwängler at some other points on the island

could not be resumed as yet. This was true especially of the town site on the summit of Mt. Oros which was inhabited from the archaic period onward; and to the sanctuary of Zeus Panhellenios at which a fountain with a peculiar arrangement was cleared. The most important find at this latter place was a completely preserved archaic bronze hydria with a dedication to Zeus Hellenios.

Excavations in Regilla Street in Athens near the eastern edge of the Roman city, conducted by Mr. Pappadakis at the request of the Ministry of Education, disclosed part of a late Roman house which was found to extend from the courtyard of a house under construction into the adjoining property of Mr. Diomedes, Director of the National Bank. The walls are constructed in the usual style of the period with lime mortar but without bricks, and contained many ancient architectural members, thrown together in great confusion. From these walls each of the property owners had obtained a large marble relief ( $0.80 \times 1.58 \times 0.20$  m. thick). A third slab of the same dimensions was brought to light in the official excavations and all three, together with five or six pieces of cornice and epistyle, were transferred to the National Museum.

On the central slab are two Victories sacrificing bulls with Dionysus between them. He stands facing full front, a beardless, draped figure, holding a thyrsus and a phiale; on his left is a youthful companion, nude, who holds a wine jar. Both the Victories are represented according to the well-known prototype of the Balustrade Athena Nike, holding the bulls which are attempting to flee. In the centre of the second slab are represented two satyrs carrying off a huge crater which they are holding high up in the air. Two other satyrs (of the hairy Silenus type) are shown trampling out grapes in large woven baskets. On the third slab is represented a Dionysiac panther, leaping over a horizontal thyrsus.

These well-preserved reliefs which once undoubtedly formed the sculptured decoration of some Dionysiac base or large altar (to which probably some of the architectural members also belonged) are important chiefly as new examples from Athens of the so-called Neo-Attic art; but even though they are works of a late period—the time of Hadrian rather than Augustus—they are not lacking in beauty and life.

Mr. Rhomaïos, head of the Department of Antiquities, spent three weeks in April at Thermon working chiefly on the temple belonging to the Geometric layer. This was found to have not only the north end slightly curved but the long sides as well.<sup>1</sup> The south end, with the entrance, was straight. These slight curves are curious and show at least the influence of the elliptical structures so common in the pre-Geometric period at Thermon. It is well known, furthermore, that the peristyle of this Geometric temple had an apsidal plan.

From August 20th to October 20th Mr. Rhomaïos spent in Mykonos, Delos and Rheneia studying the important find made by the late Mr. Stavropoulos in 1899. The brief published reports of the discoverer were quite inadequate when one considers the importance of his finding of the burial "caskets" of the Delians removed from the island in 425 B.C. (cf. Thuc. I. 8). Thanks to the patient efforts of Mr. Pippas, the present ephor, the numerous notes found among the belongings of Mr. Stavropoulos, and his shorthand annotations labelling the

<sup>1</sup> In a length of 7.30 m. on the north end the perpendicular from the middle of the chord is 0.30 m., while the long sides have a length of 21.40 m., and the perpendicular is 0.40 m.

vases and the various graves have been deciphered, so that by comparing them with the vases in the Museum at Mykonos much new light is thrown on the important question: which vases belong to the precinct of the "purification," and which were found outside it and must consequently be attributed to graves later than 425 B.C.

On the island of Rheneia, south of the "precinct of the purification," Mr. Rhomaïos carried out a small excavation with laborers kindly loaned by Mr. Pippas, who was continuing his investigation of the Herakleion. Seven graves were found, all later than 425 B.C. Since burials clearly took place around the precinct after the year of the purification and during the Hellenistic and Roman periods while the area of the common tomb was never molested throughout antiquity, we have a certain chronological "terminus ante quem" for the latest finds from the precinct itself.

Near the Herakleion, Mr. Pippas excavated some graves in the place where Mr. Stavropoulos found Geometric tombs and discovered in them iron sickles, similar to the fifty or more found in the "precinct of purification." It is probable that these sickles from the Delian tombs led the contemporaries of Thucydides to believe in the Carian tradition. But the recent excavations have shown how mistaken this interpretation was. In two graves dating from the end of the fifth century similar sickles were found. Some other explanation is therefore necessary for these peculiar objects. Perhaps they are prizes of dancers of Artemis, who was worshipped from early times in Delos and Rheneia, similar to those from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.

Taking advantage of the exceptionally dry season of 1924 on account of which the lake of Stymphalus had withdrawn more than one hundred metres from the rock which bounds it on the west, Mr. Orlandos, in September, at the expense of the Archaeological Society, brought to light a considerable number of buildings, the majority of which had hitherto been covered by the alluvium of the lake. He found, among others, a tetrastyle, prostyle temple, 16.40 m. in length, 7.60 m. in width, of which only the foundations are preserved. The columns of the prostasis each had a separate base. In the cella is still preserved the base of the statue; behind the cella are two compartments which probably served as treasuries or depositories. The temple probably belongs to the Hellenistic period.

A little beyond the temple to the southwest were found two small sanctuaries in the form of a letter *pi* (interior is 0.84 m. by 1.20 m.). In one of them is preserved a well-worked base—probably of the cult image.

Still farther west Mr. Orlandos uncovered the foundations of a building, which, if it were situated differently, could on account of its plan be called a propylon.

Beside the propylon a fountain with four spouts was cleared and a flight of steps was discovered by which one descended to draw water. The spring has the shape of the letter *pi* also, 6.25 m. wide.

All the above-mentioned buildings lie between the city wall—of which the whole circuit may be traced, partly in the lake—and a great *plateia*, probably the ancient agora of Stymphalus. In the middle of this square, which is bounded on the north by a deep (8.00 m.) cutting in a long low hill, is a curious edifice consisting of a circular building (*tholos*) adjoining a narrow corridor. What the purpose of this building was has not yet been discovered.

The hill above the agora was also investigated and three temples were recognized, the westernmost of which is that mentioned by Frazer and H. v. Gaerttringen.

Finally, in a small excavation on a low hill at a place called Λάκκα τοῦ Φιλίππα, twenty minutes west of Stymphalus, was discovered the lower part of a circular

tomb (exterior diameter 18.45 m.) with interior partitions in the form of a cross, recalling the similar tombs in Macedonia and at Pergamon. The tomb had unfortunately been plundered; only the shattered larnax of a child was found. From the style of the exterior wall of the tomb it should date from Hellenistic times.

Besides the excavation of the classical remains the campaign included the study of the plan of the mediaeval church at the Stymphalian spring. The imposing ruins of this church had been identified as belonging to a Byzantine basilica. By the discovery of composite piers in the interior it was established however that the church is the work of the Frankish conquerors (ca. 1250 A.D.); since the plan as well as the architectural members (capitals, buttresses, etc.) is Gothic in style.

Excavations were undertaken at Eleusis this year by Mr. Kourouniotis, the Director of the National Museum, beginning at the south gate of the sanctuary where the method of construction of the gateway was examined by means of a trench sunk to virgin soil. This showed that the foundations of the handsome south wall of the precinct, which dates from the fourth century, are interrupted at this point by an opening equal to the gateway in width. This opening was filled with a substructure of large stones, similar to the blocks of the wall, but much more carelessly and less strongly built. Slightly more than 1.00 m. above native rock is the original threshold contemporary with the wall and worked in the same careful, fine way as the whole south wall. In Roman times the ground level rose, the threshold was covered over and replaced by a new one in marble. The gateway was at the same time narrowed, new parastades being set in front of the original ones. This second gateway was again remodeled, perhaps in late Roman times; again new parastades were added, making the opening still narrower, and a new threshold was set at a level higher than its predecessor.

On the older parastades are clearly visible the traces of the fire which destroyed the gate and made a reconstruction necessary.

Opposite this gate (a few metres from the tower before it) there had been uncovered in 1920 two sides of a fine polygonal building, within which were found small rectangular structures built of unworked stone and filled with rather large vases, especially amphorae and small pithoi, set in order and containing ashes. Near these were found a few small pots, lekythoi and small skyphoi of the customary funerary type. These finds led to the belief that the small rectangular structures were burial precincts and the large polygonal building was conjectured to be the enclosure for these smaller precincts.

The campaign this year laid bare the whole exterior of the polygonal building and the greater part of its interior, and demonstrated that the small rectangular structures constituted a system of connected rooms forming a small house. The house consists of a large room on the north with three smaller rooms on the south with a common court in front. The wall and some of the pavement of the court are preserved. The doorways, thresholds and steps of the rooms are also preserved. The large north room offers no special interest. The small room adjoining it is divided into two parts: one half with a slightly lower floor was filled with vases containing ashes, the other half formed a paved passage leading to a circular pit. The two small rooms adjoining on the south were also filled with pots holding ashes. The date of the house may be determined by the pottery which is all Proto-Corinthian or late Geometric.

The great polygonal structure encloses this house, but neither its date nor its purpose could be determined. It may have been built to protect the remains of the small archaic house which, to judge from the vases containing ashes and the pit, probably had a sacral purpose. Before this polygonal enclosure was built, a smaller one of poros had been erected in the ruins of the house, probably before the

fifth century, because black-figured vases and other sixth-century objects were found above it. But this evidence is not absolutely convincing since into this region below the south wall of the precinct, it appears that earth and other things were sometimes thrown down from the precinct.

The most important find of this season's campaign was made here: a small statue of a woman, approaching the end of the archaic period in style, and taking its place between the maidens of the Acropolis and the figures from the gables at Olympia. It represents a young woman wearing the Doric peplos and a high crown. She is moving rapidly to the left, turning her head to the right as though pursued from this direction or looking at some action which causes her flight. It is probably Persephone fleeing from Pluto; or one of her companions flying in terror before the abduction of Persephone. The figure may possibly have belonged to the gable of some archaic building of small dimensions.

In the Second Archaeological District an attempt was made by Mr. Pappadakis, the Ephor, to find the sanctuary and altar of Zeus Kenaïos mentioned in tradition as closely connected with the Pyre of Heracles on Mt. Oeta. The results were mainly negative. Instead of the sanctuary hoped for, a rectangular enclosure (measuring ca. 50.00 m. on a side) was discovered, surrounded by an ancient wall more than 2.00 m. thick with three towers at the corners, resting on foundations of poros. A temple and altar were sought for in vain within the enclosure. It is possible that the temple stood outside these walls, but it may have been completely destroyed during the building of the Byzantine and Turkish houses scattered over all this part of Mt. Kenaion. The small finds were of no great consequence (potsherds of the fourth century and later).

The rest of the small finds, especially bronze, from the earlier excavations of the Pyre of Heracles, have been cleaned and placed on exhibition in the Museum at Thebes.

New accessions in the Tanagra (Skimatari) Museum are two marble table supports of Roman style brought to light during ploughing within the walls of the ancient city. One bears in relief a youth (broken below the thighs), holding in his hands before his breast a bunch of grapes, a type of Silvanus perhaps; the other a Gorgoneia.

From the Peloponnesus is reported the discovery, at Tiryns, in a field west of the acropolis, of a tomb (1.23 m. x 0.47 m. and 0.45 m. deep), built of unworked stones and covered by a slab. Within the tomb were found seven Geometric pots and some pieces of bronze. These objects have been placed in the museum at Nauplia.

From Thessaly Mr. Arvanitopoulos reports the discovery at Pherae, during the continuation of the excavation of the sanctuary of Zeus Thaulios (at the expense of the Greek Archaeological Society), of five large and five small inscribed portions of marble stelae—one a dedication to Ennodia, a divinity known elsewhere in Thessaly.

The Ephor found also architectural remains of two temples: one, of about 400 B.C., and a second, dating from approximately 600 B.C.; including portions of the echinus of poros capitals with carved ornament and fragments of cornice with delicately cut spiral decoration. A fragment of a primitive Doric capital dating

from about 750 B.C. was also found. Foundations of five buildings were uncovered close to the eastern side of the temple. One or two of these foundations may be those of smaller or earlier temples; the rest apparently belong to altars or dedications. The finds from the temple are very rich and interesting, and it is hoped that the Archaeological Society may obtain sufficient funds to continue the excavations on a large scale.

Small trial excavations were made at Halos and elsewhere in the plain of Halmyros at the expense of the Ministry of Education. Contrary to expectations no Mycenaean remains were found at Halos, but ordinary Geometric remains in abundance. Mr. Arvanitopoulos believes that the site of the temple of Itonian Athena is not to be sought in the district of Halmyros, but in the neighborhood of Kierion (modern Sophades-Mataranga-Pyrgos).

Mr. Xanthoudides reports to the Archaeological Society the following results of his excavations in Crete in July, 1924:

The discovery some months ago at Pyrgos, of part of a gold diadem in a recess of the Early Minoan tomb excavated a few years ago (published in *Αρχ. Δελτίον*, Vol. 4, 1918, p. 136), led to a further investigation to determine whether the tomb had originally extended farther into the cliff than had been supposed. The excavation showed that this was not the case, but about 50.00 m. farther east two simple earth burials were found in hollows among the rocks. The two skeletons had their heads toward the east and were probably originally in the contracted position. A few scanty sherds show that the graves belong to the Early Minoan period contemporary with the great tomb at Pyrgos. On the rocky hill of Pyrgos some thirty small artificial hollows (0.25 m. to 0.40 m. deep, 0.20 m. to 0.30 m. wide, and generally narrowing toward the bottom) were counted. Their purpose could not be determined, but they seem to belong to an Early Minoan settlement, since numerous potsherds scattered over the top indicate that the settlement to which the great tomb belonged may have stood here.

Just below the Minoan house at Nirou Chani and beyond the new carriage road where numerous Minoan potsherds appear, trial trenches were opened to see if any buildings exist between the house and the sea. These trenches showed that the whole deposit here is a refuse heap from the settlement; scanty traces of walls were found only at a depth of 3.00 m. This whole fill was full of Middle Minoan sherds while the great house, as stated in the publication (*Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1922, pp. 1 ff.), dates from Late Minoan I. Many of these sherds from the dump preserve their polychrome decoration. Of the shapes the commonest are Middle Minoan stemmed goblets and two-handled jars with bridged spout. Within this fill, which was probably formed during the grading and excavation for the great "Megaron", were found also two coarse clay lamps with single outlet, almost intact and of no little interest. They bear marks of considerable burning. One is of a rare type with a hollow foot. These lamps, too, are evidently of Middle Minoan date. A small animal figure was also found, representing with great naturalism a seated ram—probably broken off from some vase which it decorated. The white decoration on a black slip is well preserved.

Somewhat more than 500 m. west of the Minoan house at Nirou Chani, on the west bank of the Vathianos River at a point where fragments of larnakes suggested the existence of a cemetery, trenches were dug in search of tombs. These excavations showed that the cemetery had in fact been here, but had been almost completely washed out in the great flood of 1897. The lower part of a small but important tomb was, however, found, low down in the bed of the stream near its western bank. This grave contained some remains of the skeleton—part of the skull and the lower part of the legs—of a youth or a girl. The tomb was 1.20 m.



long. In the tomb were two small squat stirrup vases of Late Minoan II style. They are decorated with zones and simple curvilinear patterns in brown or red on a pale white ground. More important are the following small finds from the tomb:

1. An ornament in the form of a small bull's head of bright red sardonyx. All the details are rendered naturalistically and with great skill, and it is a little masterpiece of workmanship.

2. Two small male figures of ivory, unfortunately damaged. The head and legs of one are preserved, of the other the upper half of the body to the hips (without the arms) and the lower half from the hips to the knees. The figures must have been about 0.05 m. high. Here, too, the details are rendered with wonderful delicacy and naturalism. Perhaps these small figures formed the heads of pins of ivory, of which a good many fragments were found.

3. A large lentoid gem of sardonyx bearing a representation of two wild goats standing back to back, turning their heads and butting, with a kid standing upright on its hind legs between them. It is a stone of extraordinary beauty and artistic worth.

4. A lentoid gem of crystal on which is represented a wild goat.

5. Two small lentoid gems of greenish blue jasper—on one a four-footed animal is represented.

6. Two spherical beads of amber (decayed), a large almond-shaped bead of sard, and a small silver ring much oxidized.

7. A bronze knife preserving a piece of the bone handle which was fastened by two rivets.

It is strange that such beautiful and elegant objects were found in such a small tomb. It makes the loss of the other tombs, which probably contained similar objects, all the more deplorable.

One kilometre west of Nirou Chani, at a point called St. Theodore, there is a narrow peninsula which runs out to a small island. The peninsula shelters a small harbor where boats anchor in stormy weather. Along the beach of the harbor, covered to-day by sand, appear the ruins of a settlement, partly in the water. When the weather is calm one may see the walls under water—one supporting two stone column bases. Some years ago one of the houses on the shore was cleared (now it is again covered by sand), and from the pottery it was established that the building is contemporary with the great house at Nirou Chani. Mr. Xanthoudides hopes to lay bare further houses of this settlement at the first opportunity.

E. P. B.

AMERICAN SCHOOL

ATHENS

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## ABBREVIATIONS

*Abh.*: Abhandlungen. *Allg. Ztg.*: Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung. *Alt. Or.*: Der alte Orient. *Am. Anthr.*: American Anthropologist. *Am. Archil.*: American Architect. *A.J.A.*: American Journal of Archaeology. *A. J. Num.*: American Journal of Numismatics. *A. J. Sem. Lang.*: American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature. *Ami d. Mon.*: Ami des Monuments. *Ant. Denk.*: Antike Denkmäler. *Ann. Arch. Anth.*: Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology. *Ann. Scuol. It. At.*: Annuario della r. Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente. *Ant. J.*: The Antiquaries Journal. *Arch. Anz.*: Archäologischer Anzeiger. *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*: Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον. *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*: Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς. *Arch. Rec.*: Architectural Record. *Arch. Rel.*: Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. *Arch. Miss.*: Archives de Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires. *Arch. Stor. Art.*: Archivio Storico dell' Arte. *Athen.*: Athenaeum (of London). *Ath. Mitt.*: Mitteilungen d. k. d. Archäol. Instituts, Athen. Abt.

*Beitr. Assyrl.*: Beiträge zur Assyriologie. *Ber. Kunsts.*: Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen. *Berl. Akad.*: Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. *Berl. Phil. W.*: Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. *Bibl. Stud.*: Biblische Studien. *Bibl. World*: The Biblical World. *B. Ac. Hist.*: Boletín de la real Academia de la Historia. *B. Soc. Esp.*: Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones. *Boll. Arte*: Bollettino d'Arte. *Boll. Num.*: Bollettino Italiano di Numismatica. *Bonn. Jb.*: Bonner Jahrbücher: Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande. *B.A.I. Chicago*: Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago. *B.A.S.O.R.*: Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research. *B.S.A.*: Annual of the British School at Athens. *B.S.R.*: Papers of the British School at Rome. *B. Arch. C. T.*: Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux hist. et scient. *B. Arch. M.*: Bulletin Archéol. du Ministère. *B.C.H.*: Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. *B. Cleve. Mus.*: Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art. *B. Inst. Gen.*: Bulletin de l'Institut National Genevois. *B. Inst. Ég.*: Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien (Cairo). *B. Metr. Mus.*: Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. *B. Mon.*: Bulletin Monumental. *B. Mus. Brux.*: Bulletin des Musées Royaux des arts décoratifs et industriels à Bruxelles. *B. Mus. F. A.*: Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, Boston. *B. N. Y. Hist. Soc.*: New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin. *B. Num.*: Bulletin de Numismatique. *B. R. I. Des.*: Bulletin of the Rhode Island School of Design. *B. Soc. Anth.*: Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris. *B. Soc. Midi Fr.*: Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France. *B. Com. Rom.*: Bullettino d. Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma. *B. Arch. Crist.*: Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana. *B. Pal. It.*: Bullettino di Paleologia Italiana. *Burl. Mag.*: Burlington Magazine. *B. Soc. Ant. Fr.*: Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France. *Byz. Z.*: Byzantinische Zeitschrift.

*Chron. Arts*: Chronique des Arts. *Cl. Phil.*: Classical Philology. *Cl. R.*: Classical Review. *C. R. Acad. Insc.*: Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. *C.I.A.*: Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum. *C.I.G.*: Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum. *C.I.L.*: Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. *C.I.S.*: Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. *Cron. B. A.*: Cronaca delle Belle Arti.

*Eph. Ep.*: Ephemeris Epigraphica. *Eph. Sem. Ep.*: Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik. *Exp. Times*: The Expository Times.

*Gaz. B.-A.*: Gazette des Beaux-Arts. *G.D.I.*: Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.

*Ind. Notes*: Indian Notes and Monographs. *I.G.*: Inscriptiones Graecae (for contents and numbering of volumes, cf. *A.J.A.* IX, 1905, pp. 96-97). *I.G.A.*: Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae, ed. Roehl. *I.G. Arg.*: Inscriptiones Graecae Argolidis. *I. G. Ins.*: Inscriptiones Graecarum Insularum. *I. G. Sept.*: Inscriptiones Graecae Septentrionalis. *I. G. Sic. It.*: Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et Italiae.

*Jb. Arch. I.*: Jahrbuch d. k. d. Archäol. Instituts. *Jb. Kl. Alt.*: Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Litteratur und für Pädagogik. *Jb. Kunst. Samm.*: Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses. *Jb. Phil. Päd.*: Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik (Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher). *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.*: Jahrbuch d. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen. *Jh. Ost. Arch. I.*: Jahreshefte des oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts. *J. Asiat.*: Journal Asiatique. *J.A.O.S.*: Journal of the American Oriental Society. *J. B. Archaeol.*: Journal of the British Archaeological Association. *J. B. Archt.*: Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects. *J. Bibl. Lit.*: Journal of Biblical Literature. *J.E.A.*: Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. *J.H.S.*: Journal of Hellenic Studies. *J. Int. Arch. Num.*: Διεθνής

*Ἐφημερίς τῆς νομισματικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας*, Journal international d'archéologie numismatique (Athens). *J.R.S.*: Journal of Roman Studies.

*Kb. Gesamtver.*: Korrespondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereins. *Kunstchr.*: Kunstchronik.

*Mb. Num. Ges. Wien.*: Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. *Mh. f. Kunstw.*: Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft. *Mél. Arch. Hist.*: Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (of French School in Rome). *Mél. Fac. Or.*: Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale, Beirut. *M. Inst. Gen.*: Mémoires de l'Institut Genevois. *M. Acc. Modena.*: Memoire della Regia Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti in Modena. *M. Am. Acad. Rome.*: Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. *M. Soc. Ant. Fr.*: Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France. *Mitt. Anth. Ges.*: Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. *Mitt. C.-Comm.*: Mitteilungen der königlich-kaiserlichen Central-Commission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale. *Mitt. Or. Ges.*: Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. *Mitt. Pal. V.*: Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina Vereins. *Mitt. Vorderas. Ges.*: Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft. *Mon. Ant.*: Monumenti Antichi (of Accad. d. Lincei). *Mon. Piot.*: Monuments et Mémoires pub. par l'Acad. des Inscriptions, etc. (Fondation Piot.) *Mün. Akad.*: Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München. *Mün. Jb. Bild. K.*: Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst. *Mus. J.*: The Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania.

*N.D.Alt.*: Nachrichten über deutsche Altertumskunde. *Not. Arch.*: Notiziario Archeologico. *Not. Scav.*: Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità. *Num. Chron.*: Numismatic Chronicle. *Num. Notes*: Numismatic Notes and Monographs. *Num. Z.*: Numismatische Zeitschrift. *N. Arch. Ven.*: Nuovo Archivio Veneto. *N. Bull. Arch. Crist.*: Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia cristiana.

*Or. Lit.*: Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. *Or. Lux.*: Ex Oriente Lux.

*Pal. Ex. Fund.*: Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund. *Πρακτικά*: Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*: Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.

*Rass. d'Arte*: Rassegna d'Arte. *R. Tr. Eg. Assy.*: Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes. *Rend. Acc. Bologna*: Rendiconto delle sessioni della R. Accademia delle Scienze dell' Istituto di Bologna, classe di scienze morali. *Rend. Acc. Lincei*: Rendiconti d. r. Accademia dei Lincei. *Rep. f. K.*: Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft. *R. Assoc. Barc.*: Revista de la Asociación artístico-arqueológico Barcelonesa. *R. Arch. Bibl. Mus.*: Revista di Archivos Bibliotecas, y Museos. *R. Arch.*: Revue Archéologique. *R. Art. Anc. Mod.*: Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne. *R. Art Chrét.*: Revue de l'Art Chrétien. *R. Belge Num.*: Revue Belge de Numismatique. *R. Bibl.*: Revue Biblique Internationale. *R. Ép.*: Revue Epigraphique. *R. Ét. Anc.*: Revue des Études Anciennes. *R. Ét. Gr.*: Revue des Études Grecques. *R. Ét. J.*: Revue des Études Juives. *R. Hist. Rel.*: Revue de l'Histoire des Religions. *R. Num.*: Revue Numismatique. *R. Or. Lat.*: Revue de l'Orient Latin. *R. Sém.*: Revue Sémitique. *R. Suisse Num.*: Revue Suisse de Numismatique. *Rh. Mus.*: Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge. *R. Abruzz.*: Rivista Abruzzese di Scienze, Lettere ed Arte. *R. Ital. Num.*: Rivista Italiana Numismatica. *R. Stor. Ant.*: Rivista di Storia Antica. *R. Stor. Calabr.*: Rivista Storica Calabrese. *R. Stor. Ital.*: Rivista Storica Italiana. *Röm.-Germ. Forsch.*: Bericht über die Fortschritte der Römisch-Germanischen Forschung. *Röm.-Germ. Kb.*: Römisch-Germanisches Korrespondenzblatt. *Röm. Mitt.*: Mitteilungen d. k. d. Archäol. Instituts, Röm. Abt. *Rom. Quart.*: Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte.

*Sächs. Ges.*: Sächsischer Gesellschaft (Leipzig). *Sitzb.*: Sitzungsberichte. *S. Bibl. Arch.*: Society of Biblical Archaeology, Proceedings.

*W. kl. Phil.*: Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie.

*Z. D. Pal. V.*: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins. *Z. Aeg. Sp. Alt.*: Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde. *Z. Alttest. Wiss.*: Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. *Z. Assyriol.*: Zeitschrift für Assyriologie. *Z. Bild. K.*: Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst. *Z. Ethn.*: Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. *Z. Morgenl.*: Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlands. *Z. Morgenl. Ges.*: Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. *Z. Mün. Alt.*: Zeitschrift des Münchener Alterthumsvereins. *Z. Num.*: Zeitschrift für Numismatik.